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MASON HAMMOND

Instructor in the Classics, 1928–1934
Assistant Professor of Greek, Latin and History, 1934–1939
Associate Professor of Greek, Latin and History, 1939–1946
Professor of Greek, Latin and History, 1946–1950
Pope Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, 1950–1973

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PREFATORY NOTE

MVLTAE LITTERAE, SVMMA NON VITAE SOLVM ATQVE NATURAE SED
ORATIONIS ETIAM COMITAS, INCORRVPTA QVAEDAM LATINI SERMONIS
INTEGRITAS . . .

CICERO, *BRVTVS*, 132

CONTENTS

THE EMERGENCE OF MEDIAEVAL TOWNS: INDEPENDENCE OR CONTINUITY?

Mason Hammond

MEDIAEVAL scholars have long discussed whether or not something of the municipal institutions and civic spirit of the classical city and city-state survived in western Europe from the Late Roman Empire through the Dark Ages and Carolingian period to fructify the emergence of what they call towns, which began in the eleventh century.[1] However, such survival, or continuity, is only the last of several general

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[1] This paper was submitted for discussion at an Interdisciplinary Conference on *The City in History: Idea and Reality* sponsored by The Center for Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies of the University of Michigan during March, 14–17, 1973, in Ann Arbor, Mich. It is presented here by the kind consent of the Director of the Center, Prof. Gerald F. Else. It has benefited in the present version from comments made at the Conference, particularly by the commentator in a discussion of "Form of Cities," Prof. Janet Abu-Lughod of Northwestern University. In the paper, the latinate spelling "mediaeval" is used except in citing titles of books or articles whose authors use the form "medieval." The paper depends heavily on Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt* (in Veröffentlichungen des Inst. für gesch. Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn), Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1953, which will be cited hereafter as Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*. Edith Ennen, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters* (in Sammlung Vandenhoeck), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972, is a more recent rehandling of the same general topic, which will hereafter be cited as Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*. A volume of studies in honor of Prof. Ennen: Werner Besch and others, edd., *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte*, Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1972, has a second section (pp. 59–90) of fourteen articles on "Frühgeschichte," of which only one is relevant to the theme of this paper, namely Eugen Ewig, "Von der Kaiserstadt zur Bischofstadt usw." (pp. 59–73), which is cited below in n. 23. Also useful is Paul Egon Hübinger, ed., *Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität im Uebergang von der Antike zum Mittlelalter* (Wege der Forschung CCI), Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968. This is a collection of papers on the topic. Alfons Dopsch, in a paper therein of 1926 (pp. 78–103) entitled "Von Altertum zum Mittelalter — Das Kontinuitätsproblem," deals chiefly with continuity of site, urban plan, and trade. He admits (pp. 90–91) that the city in a legal sense as an autonomous institution was a creation of the high and later Middle Ages, not of continuity from the Roman Empire. However, Kurt Böhner concludes (pp. 318–319) in a paper of 1959 (pp. 278–319), "Die Frage der Kontinuität zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter im Spiegel der fränkischen Funde des

explanations for the emergence of mediaeval towns listed by John F. Benton in his *Town Origins*.[2]

The most popular of these explanations are the ones which attribute the emergence of towns to trade. Either merchants engaged in long-range commerce gathered in some convenient community to store, transfer, or exchange their goods and thus provided the stimulus for its growth. Or the impetus came from the development of local or regional trade. Connected with these two explanations is that which finds the significant stimulus in the development of handicrafts in given communities. These three views envisage the emergence of towns primarily in economic terms.

Other explanations offer legal and political reasons for the development of self-government in the emerging towns. Associations, or guilds, of merchants often were granted immunities and privileges by ecclesiastical or temporal overlords, which permitted them to govern themselves. Military garrisons, comprising troops drawn from the forces of various overlords, could not turn to any one of them for jurisdiction and law and therefore had to be provided with their own courts and regulations. It has also been argued that important monasteries or cathedrals encouraged the growth of commercial communities under their aegis by granting them immunities and self-government. Thus these three explanations, in some measure related to the economic ones, concentrate on the development of self-governing communities, no matter what their size.

The three economic stimuli might have begun from the survival from late antiquity of commerce or handicrafts in given communities. But they appear principally to have originated in the increased prosperity and more venturesome business attitudes which characterized the later Middle Ages, and it is difficult to detect much difference between new communities which developed commercially on their own, e.g. the Hanseatic towns or those of Russia, and those, e.g. in Italy, for which commercial antecedents can be found in late antiquity.

Rheinlandes," by stating that though the rise of cities in northwest Europe was due to the guilds of German traders, still something urban remained in the old Roman sites like a seed in a garden ready to come into bloom again. A parallel collection also edited by Paul Egon Hübinger, *Zur Frage der Periodengrenze zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter* (Wege der Forschung LI), Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 1969, contains sixteen papers concerned mainly with the cultural boundary between the two periods.

[2] John F. Benton, *Town Origins: The Evidence From Medieval England* (in Problems in European Civilization), Lexington (Mass.), Heath, 1968, p. ix. This will be cited hereafter as Benton, *Town Origins*.

In the case of the three theories which propound reasons for the development of self-governing mediaeval communities, it is equally difficult to demonstrate that there was continuity of municipal institutions or civic spirit from late antiquity, or that, if anything did survive, it had not been altered out of all recognition, or that it was of itself to any significant extent determinative. This is the problem to be discussed in the present paper.

The last of Benton's explanations, continuity from the past, may be considered in connection with any of the other seven views; nor, indeed, need these be treated as mutually exclusive. Since, however, this paper can claim no wide research or expertise in the Middle Ages, it will concern itself mainly with this question of continuity as seen from the point of view of a classical historian. It elaborates general conclusions expressed in the penultimate chapter (ch. XXII) of a book entitled *The City in the Ancient World,* published in October 1972 by the Harvard University Press and hereafter cited as Hammond, *City.*[3]

That book is mainly concerned with two questions. First, it traces the history of the city in the ancient world, taken in the restricted sense of the ancient Middle and Near East and the Mediterranean basin. Covering from the first emergence of cities in Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) about 3000 B.C. to the end of the Late Roman Empire in the sixth century, it seeks to determine whether in each succeeding civilization the concept of the city was borrowed from an earlier culture, or whether each civilization at a certain level of social and economic

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[3] For a bibliography with brief comments on books concerning the emergence of mediaeval towns, see Hammond, *City*, pp. 529–538, in the bibl. to ch. XXII. A paper summarizing the argument of this book, entitled "The City in the Ancient World: A summary Survey," was delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society and is scheduled for publication in its *Proceedings* in 1974. That paper, like the present one, was submitted for discussion in the Michigan Conference (above, n. 1) and included by Prof. Abu-Lughod in her comment. She remarked that the Greek *polis*, particularly as described by Aristotle, was not the only form of ancient city; no such implication was intended in *The City*. Naturally a classicist is primarily concerned with the Greco-Roman *polis*, but there is in *The City* discussion of earlier forms in the Ancient Middle and Near East and the Mediterranean World, and exclusion from the discussion of urban forms in other parts of the world. She also attacked what she called the Aristotelian fallacy of typology which regards the city merely as a fixed sociological form; she held that the city, as an institution, is in fact process. The present author fully admits the importance of process but would argue that nevertheless cities may be typed at given moments, or even for long periods, as mercantile, religious, military, or administrative, or as monarchical, oligarchic, democratic, or the like.

advance developed its own cities, which were only thereafter subject to influences from older urbanized cultures. Secondly, for the Greek and Roman civilizations, it considers the origin in Greece of the form of urban self-government known as the classical city-state, hereafter simply the city-state, and also enquires whether this form of municipal government appeared independently in Italy or was borrowed from Greece. The conclusions on these questions need not here be summarized. Consideration first of the demise of the city-state during the Late Roman Empire and then of the shrinkage of cities under the impact of economic decline and the barbarian invasions naturally posed the question whether anything survived of the classical city to influence the emergence of mediaeval towns.

The same chapter also dealt summarily with the fate of the classical cities in the eastern half of the Roman Empire when this became the Byzantine Empire, and with the question whether the Byzantine cities passed on any heritage to the emergent cities of the Arab, Turkish, and Slavic civilizations. This last question, distinct from that posed by western Europe, will be only briefly considered at the end of this paper.

The discussion of the emergence of mediaeval towns is clouded by vagueness as to what exactly is being discussed. Mediaeval scholars writing in English use the term town rather than city. Scholars writing in other languages use the terms regular in their languages for city, e.g., *ville*, *Ṣtadt*, or *città*. It is fairly easy to distinguish between a city and a village.[4] The latter is a small, closely inhabited community, which may or may not be walled. It has purely local significance as a place of residence for farmers or pasturers who raise crops or cattle on the surrounding countryside. These, who for brevity will hereafter be called simply agriculturalists, often live outside the village on their farms or are absent for long periods pasturing their cattle. The village also serves as a center for handicrafts to supply the agriculturalists, insofar as crafts are not practiced in the individual households, usually by the women. Finally, the village is a market center for the exchange of local produce among the agriculturalists and for trade to supply them with such necessities and luxuries as cannot be produced locally, e.g. metals, salt, fine clothing, jewels, or the like.

While ideally a village thus defined would have no contact with places outside its own countryside, such self-sufficiency is well-nigh impossible to achieve. Some of the products of local agriculture or handicrafts must pass into commerce to obtain, either by exchange or through the

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[4] The definitions of, and distinctions between, village, town, and city are taken from Hammond, *City*, pp. 6–9.

intermediation of money, the necessities or luxuries from abroad which the village requires. Moreover, the early mediaeval village generally existed within or adjacent to a castle, monastery, or cathedral complex, and had to provide a surplus of produce to support nobles, monks, or clergy. These in turn had political, ecclesiastical, or economic connections with the outside world. Moreover, national rulers required taxes and levies of recruits for their armies from the villages. In consequence, even in the darkest moments of the Dark Ages or in the remotest Alpine valleys, it is safe to assume that no village lived in complete isolation and self-sufficiency. Likewise no village could function with a system of exchange based solely on barter. Certainly one aspect of the ancient world which was never wholly lost was the use of money to supplement barter, to pay taxes, and to serve as a means of converting perishable agricultural surpluses into more enduring savings. By and large, however, a village may be defined as a small community which primarily lives off of and has its being in connection with its surrounding countryside and which caters principally to the needs of its own inhabitants or to those of the local area.

A city is harder to define. Size, which might seem an obvious criterion, is in fact not so. Citizenship in the classical cities often extended to persons inhabiting the country around the built up urban complex. Agricultural villages might be more heavily populated than busy centers of trade. With respect to size, therefore, perhaps all that can be said is that the numbers should be sufficient to permit of a variety of occupations. A second, and also somewhat vague, characterization may be that a city is a community whose members live in close proximity under a single government and in a unified complex of buildings, often but not necessarily surrounded by a wall. Since, however, this definition would also cover villages, military camps, religious communities, or the like, a city may further be described as a community in which a considerable number of the population pursue their main activities within the city, in non-agricultural occupations. But other communities, like monasteries, or a small factory surrounded by the dwellings of its workers, might be similarly described. A fourth characteristic may therefore be that a city is a community which extends at least its influence, and often its control, well outside the area necessary to maintain its own self-sufficiency. This influence or control may be religious, military, commercial, political, or intellectual.

This paper need not concern itself with a special development of the city which may be called a megalopolis. A megalopolis is a city which has grown so large that it presents problems of urbanization quite

other than those to be found in the normal ancient or mediaeval city, which might be as small as five thousand people or less, and probably seldom larger than forty thousand, with an average of perhaps around ten thousand. Since the contemporary concern with urban affairs largely concentrates on the many modern megalopolises, there is likely to be confusion when the ancient or mediaeval city is viewed as if its nature and problems were the same as those which are so much in evidence today.

However, it seems reasonable to posit a type of community between the village and the city. This may be called for convenience a town. A town is larger and more complex than a village but it is still primarily local in its social, political, or economic significance. It does not extend its influence or control to any great extent outside of the agricultural area necessary to maintain its self-sufficiency.

Obviously these three types of community: village, town, and city, are not sharply distinct. The terms are simply definitions of general segments of what is a continuous progress in size and complexity of communities. Nevertheless, the first confusion arises in the topic here under discussion because both the writers in English who speak of the mediaeval town and those in other languages who use such words as *ville*, *Stadt*, or *città*, include under these general terms communities here defined as on the one hand towns and on the other cities. The same is, indeed, true of discussions of the classical city. Many ancient cities were in fact towns, and the city-state form of government characterized both types. Indeed Plato and Aristotle regarded self-sufficiency as the ideal for the city and looked on war and commerce, by which the city was opened to the outside world, as detrimental to its true nature. Nevertheless, it should be clearly kept in mind that in talking about continuity from the classical to the mediaeval city, the problem may be quite different in the case of such places as Rome, Paris, or London, from what it would be in, e.g. Turin, Rheims, or Chester, and that much of the discussion of the emergence of mediaeval towns deals with towns as here defined, not with cities. Indeed, most of the explanations for the emergence of mediaeval towns which were given earlier in fact apply to towns as just defined. Only a community whose emergence was due to long-range trade would fit the definition that a city extends its influence well beyond the area necessary to maintain its self-sufficiency.[5]

[5] Obviously mediaeval towns emerged in response to a variety of stimuli, as is set forth by Edith Ennen in a summary of the conclusions of her *Früh-geschichte* entitled "Les Différents Types de formation des villes européennes,"

A second source of confusion in considering continuity between the ancient city and mediaeval towns is that the city, as a physical, social, or economic unit, should be distinguished from its form of government. Historically cities have not necessarily been independent self-governing communities. Moreover, a city may be independent but still governed by a ruler or oligarchy, as were most of those in the ancient world before the invention of the city-state by the Greeks. Naturally any independent city may be called a city-state. But, as said earlier, city-state is used in this paper in its classical sense of a government of an independent city or town which consists of magistrates, normally elected annually, a council, either hereditary or composed of ex-magistrates, and an assembly of citizens, however restricted be the qualifications for citizenship and limited the number of citizens in relation to the total population. Most important, sovereignty in the city-state was not a prerogative of priests or rulers with divine sanction, or of some hereditary class or caste; it resided in the people, i.e., in the will of the citizens as expressed through their assembly.[6]

Le Moyen Age LXII (1956) pp. 397–411. This article is translated, but without most of the footnotes, as "The Variety of Urban Development" in Benton, *Town Origins* pp. 11–18, from which the article will be cited except for the footnotes, which will be cited as from Ennen, "Formation." Ennen, in *Town Origins*, p. 18, distinguishes between three types of mediaeval towns: big, i.e., those over 10,000 inhabitants, in which there was an interdependence of long-range commerce and handicrafts manufacturing for export; medium sized, with a more limited range of economic action, in particular restricted export trade and a mainly regional market and handicrafts; and small. For these last, Ennen cites the view of H(ektor) Ammann that the small town contained less than 2,000 inhabitants but were, nevertheless, not villages but centers which through their import and export trade participated somewhat in the economic life of the later Middle Ages. In "Formation," p. 411, Ennen gives no reference; the source does not seem to be the work cited on p. 403 in n. 11: H(ektor) Ammann, "Deutschland und die Tuchindustrie Nordwesteuropas im Mittelalter," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 72 (1954) pp. 1–63. Ennen's first type clearly are cities as defined in this paper and the second are towns of some economic development but of primarily local importance. Ammann's small towns appear to be places which were primarily centers for commercial interchange; perhaps what Ennen calls in *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 124ff, "burgs" and, pp. 130ff, "wiks," namely settlements of traders; see also Ennen, *Eur. Stadt* ch. 2: "Die neuen Ansätze," pp. 46–72, which deals chiefly with the development during the early Middle Ages of centers of commerce throughout western Europe. Thus Ennen's three categories of towns, in *Town Origins*, do not include truly agricultural villages.

[6] For the use of city-state in its restricted, classical, meaning, see Hammond, *City*, p. 2.

In origin the classical city was independent and, as already noted, as self-sufficient as possible. But this independence and self-sufficiency became impossible to maintain. The Greek cities joined together for self-defense in leagues or, in the Hellenistic period, were absorbed into territorial monarchies. Similarly, during the Republic, Rome gradually extended her sway over the cities of Italy and during the Empire over those throughout the whole Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, both Hellenistic monarchs and initially the Romans left local self-government to the cities, taking from them only the control of foreign affairs and requiring the payment of taxes and at times provision of men for the army. They used the cities as their primary instrument for government. Hence, although the independence originally characteristic of the city-state government was thus restricted, the cities in the Hellenistic monarchies and under republican and early imperial Rome can be said on the whole to have retained their city-state government. This became in general aristocratic or oligarchic, i.e., control actually passed to the rich and well-born.

However, during the second century the imperial government found itself forced to interfere more and more in the self-government of the cities in order to ensure the maintenance of agriculture, upon which the whole economy depended, and the payment of the increasingly high taxes necessary to support administration and defense. It is not necessary here to elaborate upon the social, institutional, and economic aspects of the impoverishment of the cities. Suffice it to state categorically that by the end of the fourth century, little remained of municipal self-government in either the eastern or the western parts of the Roman Empire.[7]

Nevertheless, the cities continued to fulfill social, political, and economic functions of basic importance for the administration and financing of the empire, and they continued to have municipal officials to carry out these functions.[8] The place of the popular assembly was taken by the council or *curia* but, as the government called on the cities for more and more services and taxes, the members of the *curiae*, originally called *decuriones* and in the Late Empire *curiales*, were expected to make up deficits from their own property and in conse-

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[7] The introduction (Einleitung) to Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 11–26, gives a brief discussion of Roman urbanization in Gaul and the Rhineland, including its character during the Late Empire.

[8] For a description of cities and of urban administration, including the functions and condition of the *curiales*, during the Late Roman Empire, see A(rnold) H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284–602 A.D.*, Oxford, Blackwell, and Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964, pp. 712–766 (ch. XIX).

quence the government had to force them to remain at their posts.[9] Control of the cities came to be vested in imperially appointed officials.[10] Thus the popular sovereignty traditional to the city-state no longer found expression through recognized assemblies.

The voice of the people still made itself heard, and often effectively, in organized gatherings, frequently of the people assembled in theaters or hippodromes but occasionally simply in squares before public buildings.[11] Although such gatherings, and their shouted expressions of public opinion, began informally and spontaneously, by the Late Empire, if not earlier, they had become recognized as proper occasions on which the popular will could find valid expression.[12] This expression

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[9] For the *curiales*, see also Roland Ganghoffer, *L'Évolution des institutions municipales en Occident et en Orient au Bas-Empire* (Bibl. d'Hist. du Droit et Droit romain IX), Paris, Lib. générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1963. See also for the eastern cities A(rnold) H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940 (reprint 1960) pp. 190–210 (ch. XII), especially pp. 209–210, for the loss of authority by the municipal *curiae* and the development of the civil responsibilities of the bishops.

[10] For imperial officials in cities during the Late Roman Empire, see Friederich Vittinghoff, "Zur Verfassung der spätantike 'Stadt'," in *Studien zu Anfängen des europäische Stadtwesen* (Inst. für gesch. Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz, Vorträge und Forschungen IV), Lindau & Konstanz, Thorbeke, 1958, pp. 11–39.

[11] Examples of popular pressure on both the imperial government at Rome and on provincial or municipal governments are not infrequent in the Early Roman Empire. Popular agitation forced Nero to recall his wife Octavia when he first tried to put her away, Tac. *Ann.* XIV 60.5 (A.D. 62). Tacitus several times mentions the unruliness of audiences in the theaters of Rome, e.g., *Ann.* XI 13.1, XIII 25.4. Shortages of grain would occasion popular unrest at Rome, *Ann.* XII 43.1–2, XV 18.2, XV 39.2. Rumors among the people that Nero had set the fire which devastated Rome in 64 (*Ann.* XV 39.3) induced him to try to shift the blame to the Christians and to persecute them, *Ann.* XV 44.2ff. In the east, persecution of the early Christians was generally local and occasioned by popular hostility. Pontius Pilate yielded to the outcry of a Jewish mob, instigated by the priests, that he release Barabbas and crucify Jesus, *Mark* 15.11–15, *Matthew* 27.15–26, *Luke* 23.16–24; John's account, 19.14–16, mentions the mob but not Barabbas. When Paul preached at Ephesus, the silversmiths, fearful for their trade in images of Artemis, stirred up a considerable riot, *Acts*, 19.23–41. The crowd in the theater of Smyrna forced the proconsul and the high priest (Asiarch) of Asia to commit Polycarp to the flames, probably in the 160's, Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* IV 15.26–29.

[12] The cases listed in n. 11, and other similar ones in eastern cities, in which popular demands won concessions from governments at various levels, led Jean Colin to argue in *Les Villes libres de l'Orient greco-romain et l'envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires* (Collection Latomus LXXXII), Brussels/Berchem, Latomus, 1965, that such popular demands had quasi-legal validity to require officials to put into effect the people's will. His argument assigns more,

might be through a single representative or by organized, rhythmical "acclamations." The emperors or other officials would listen and even debate with the spokesman or with the whole crowd.[13] Naturally such meetings, particularly if the people did not get satisfaction, often developed into riots which the government had to suppress by force of arms.

A well-known instance in the west of such an expression of the popular will was the election of Ambrose as bishop of Milan, probably in 373.[14] Ambrose, at the time governor or *consularis* of the province

and earlier, validity to such demonstrations than does the conclusion stated in the text and supported in the next note that in the Late Empire such demonstrations were formalized and recognized as valid expressions of the popular will, but not necessarily ones to which official satisfaction should be given. For mob pressure on governments see also briefly Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 171–173, in a chapter on "Urban Unrest" which is chiefly about the measures taken by the governments to repress it.

[13] That popular outcry against the government in such places as theaters and hippodromes had in the Late Empire a recognized role is illustrated by a passage from the chronicle of Theophanes, which seems based on an official record, and which is translated by J(ohn) B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian I*, 2 vols., ed. 2, 1923 (enlarged and shortened in time span from ed. 1, 1889, with the title: *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene; 391 A.D.–800 A.D.*), London, Macmillan, 1923 (reprint New York, Dover, 1958). The passage, in II, 71–74, in an appendix to ch. XV entitled "A Scene in the Hippodrome," gives a dialogue between the circus faction of the Greens, apparently shouting in unison, and a herald or *mandator* who speaks for Justinian. The Greens wanted the removal of an unpopular chamberlain named Calopius. The discussion extended to other complaints against the emperor, and finally the Greens insulted the other faction, the Blues, who replied with one chanted shout. Bury thinks that this incident is independent from the Nika riot, discussed presently in the text. See also below n. 54.

[14] The meeting in the Cathedral of Milan appears to have been formally called to elect a new bishop, though the acclamation of Ambrose appears to have been spontaneous, not arranged by the orthodox Catholics or led by an organized claque. See F(rederick) Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2 vols., 1935, I, 66–69, in ch. III: "Ambrose made Bishop." In a note (pp. 70–74) to this chapter: "Some points of interest in connection with Ambrose's elevation," Dudden calls attention to the prominent role of the laity in episcopal elections during the fourth century. He also remarks that, despite several instances of the elevation of laymen directly to the episcopal throne, Ambrose seems to have been hastened in a week through the seven stages from baptism to presbyter, so that he could be consecrated bishop on the eighth day, probably 1 Dec. 373. It might be noted that Ammianus Marcellinus, XX 4.13–18, presents the elevation of Julian as emperor at Paris in 360 as an equally spontaneous demonstration on the part of troops

of Aemilia/Liguria, attended an election assembly in the Cathedral of Milan to keep order between the Catholics and Arians, both eager to get their candidate chosen bishop. After his introductory speech, a child's voice was heard to cry: "Ambrose bishop," and all the assembly, both parties, took up the cry. Ambrose did everything, including withdrawing from the city, to avoid the office but after some weeks he finally had to yield both to popular pressure and to a specific command from the emperor, Valentinian I.

Similar occurrences were more common in the east. At Antioch in

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disgruntled because Constantius II had ordered them to the east, contrary to the terms of their enlistment. It may, however, be doubted whether in this case the outbreak was as spontaneous as Ammianus wants his readers to believe. In the first place, just before the outbreak, Julian entertained the officers at dinner (XX 4.13). Ammianus says that they left the dinner and later led the revolt, but of course it would have been easy for Julian at least to sympathize with them, if not put the idea into their heads of acclaiming him. Moreover, Julian was surrounded with a group of pagan advisers, notably the doctor Oribasius, and they may have urged upon the officers his acclamation in hopes that as emperor he would restore pagan worship; see Jean Bidez, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julian*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930, pp. 177–186, particularly p. 186. Dr. Thomas G. Elliott has gone so far, in a still unpublished thesis submitted to Harvard University in 1971 and entitled "The Pagan Bias of Ammianus Marcellinus (Books XIV–XXV)," to propose that from the time of his conversion to paganism Julian had aspired to take the throne from Constantius II and that he himself engineered the acclamation at Paris. The military acclamation of emperors was, of course, much older than the civil acclamations discussed in the text above and in this note. As in the case of Julian, it may be doubted whether they were as spontaneous as the sources often present them to have been. For instance, Vincent M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Harvard Historical Studies XLIV), Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 53–63, thinks that the acclamation of Claudius in 41 by the praetorians was rigged by officers discontented with Gaius but not eager to see a restoration of the Republic. Certainly the acclamation of Vespasian in 69 first by troops at Alexandria, then by his own army in Judaea, and then by the legions in Syria, was set up in advance between the various commanders; see Mason Hammond, "The Transmission of the Powers of the Roman Emperor etc.," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 24 (1956) 73–75. It is perhaps more dubious whether, as von Domaszewski suggested, the elevation of Septimius in 193 was originally engineered by Laetus, the praetorian praefect of Commodus; see Mason Hammond, "Septimius Severus, Roman Bureaucrat," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LI (1940) pp. 163–166; also Anthony Birley, *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971, p. 155 (bottom), where the possibility of previous arrangements by Laetus is suggested. Laetus had already been executed by Julianus before the revolt of Septimius, *SHA, Did. Iul.* 6.2, Dio LXXIII 16. In any case, Septimius took the initiative in getting himself acclaimed by his troops and in leading them on Rome.

387, news of an extra, and extra heavy, tax, incited a demonstration
before the governor's palace.[15] This outbreak was perhaps initiated by
the well-to-do, on whom the tax would have fallen. However, the two
sources, Libanius and John Chrysostom, state that the people were
aroused by groups of professional theatrical applauders. Such organ-
ized claques had existed since at least the Early Empire to applaud
specific actors, who presumably paid them for this advertising. Nero
is said to have retained several thousand people to cheer his perform-
ances. By the Late Empire, when demonstrations in the theaters or
hippodromes had become occasions for the expression of the popular
will, the claques acquired a political tone and function. While they
might initially be employed by specific interests, as in this case perhaps
by the rich tax-payers, ultimately their chanted acclamations had to
conform to what the people wanted in order to get any support from
them. When the governor of Antioch failed to give satisfaction, the
claques led the people in serious rioting, in the course of which im-
perial statues and portraits were destroyed. The governor then turned
troops on the crowd, whose enthusiasm had already waned so that they
offered little resistance.

The most familiar instance in the east of a demonstration which
developed into a real revolution is the Nika riot at Constantinople in
January 532.[16] Both the major factions in the circus, the Blues and the
Greens, combined to entreat from Justinian, who was presiding over
races in the Hippodrome, pardon for two condemned criminals. When
he refused, the factions jointly raised the cry of "Victory," *Nika*, and
went out to spread destruction through the city. Finally they elevated
a rival emperor. Justinian, shamed out of flight by his empress Theo-
dora, used both bribery and armed force to quell the revolt. Some
thirty thousand persons, again assembled in the Hippodrome, were
slain. After the suppression of the troubles, Justinian punished a

[15] For the riot in Antioch see Robert Browning, "The Riot of A.D. 387 in
Antioch," *Journal of Roman Studies* 42 (1952) 13–20. Browning gives references
on p. 16 for theatrical claques, including their use in demonstrations against
Christians. On pp. 17–18, he notes that the law codes recognize the validity of
such acclamations, cf., e.g., *Cod. Theod.* I 16.6.1, an edict of Constantine
recognizing the importance of acclamations in judicial hearings. Browning also
discusses military acclamations, cf. above in n. 14. Browning concludes,
pp. 19-20, that organized demonstrations became a recognized means by
which discontented elements in the population could bring pressure to bear
on the government at various levels. For a sort of dialogue between Julian and
the Antiochenes in 362 see below, n. 53.

[16] For a good account of the Nika riot see Bury, *History of the Later Roman
Empire* (cited above in n. 13) II, 39–48.

number of senators. Presumably, therefore, the outbreak was not entirely spontaneous or, if it was, senators eager to secure the removal of three corrupt ministers, notably the minister of finance, John the Cappadocian, and perhaps even to dethrone Justinian himself, took advantage of the popular discontent.

In short, when continuity into the Middle Ages or the Byzantine period is discussed, it is not to be sought in the survival of the institutions of the city-state, which had effectively vanished during the crisis of the third century, but of the authoritarian municipal administrations of the Late Empire. And the survival of civic spirit will be found, if at all, not in the continuance of any recognized form of popular assembly but in some feeling on the part of ordinary inhabitants of a community that they could express their concern for its affairs and their desires through mass gatherings, whether these were organized for a specific purpose or began spontaneously, and whether their conduct was peaceful or violent.[17]

Moreover, the question of continuity from the classical to the mediaeval city involves asking to what extent the Christian Church adopted its administrative institutions from those of the secular state or cities. Obviously certain parallels can be drawn. The major territorial divisions of the Church, those under metropolitans in the east and archbishops in the west, tended to coincide with the administrative subdivisions of the Late Empire.[18] Bishops continued to have their seats in cities, in the west even after the counts and other civil officials of the new barbarian national kingdoms had moved to castles in the

[17] Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine *dēmocratia* and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) 287–314, argues that the role of the circus factions and of the "demes" in expressing public opinion in Constantinople was taken over by the craft guilds and that these played an important role, particularly during the eleventh century in various revolts and depositions. On pp. 289–290, he suggests a comparison between the political activity of the Byzantine guilds and those in both the western and the Islamic cities and the possibility that all three represented a common inheritance from Greco-Roman economic organization. He admits that this raises the question as between a common institutional ancestry and independent but similar reaction to like circumstances and needs. See also his brief remarks in his article "The Byzantine Legacy etc." (cited below in n. 60), p. 285, and also the bibliography on the guilds in his *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) p. 8 n. 25.

[18] For the organization of the Christian Church in the Late Empire see Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8) II, 873–894, in ch. XXII: "The Church." For the correspondence of ecclesiastical and civil administrative organization in the Byzantine Empire see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) pp. 8–9.

country.[19] The bishops of major cities, such as Alexandria, Antioch, and particularly Constantinople and Rome, claimed to exercise over other bishops the same primacy which imperial officials stationed in these cities had enjoyed.[20] Since by the Dark Ages, no western city survived to rival Rome, the bishop of Rome could successfully claim primacy over the western Church, not merely because of the charge to St. Peter but because of the century old primacy enjoyed by Rome as the center of the imperial government.[21] Thus the "Idea of Rome" survived not only the departure of the western emperors to capitals nearer the frontiers, but the collapse of imperial authority in the west and the emergence of the barbarian national states. In the west, the bureaucracies both of the popes and of the barbarian monarchs borrowed much from that of the Late Empire, which, of course, that of the Byzantine Empire perpetuated with changes.

At the municipal level the question of continuity from secular to ecclesiastical institutions is more difficult to answer. The Christians had inherited from the Old Testament the concept of a theocratic form of government. Likewise the rule of the Late Empire, under which the Church really came into its own, was at all levels authoritarian and climaxed in an emperor who for pagans was divine, or at least enjoyed

[19] For bishops continuing to reside in the cities of the west after the barbarian counts, etc., had moved to castles in the country see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 25–26. For the importance of episcopal authority in Byzantine cities see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) p. 9.

[20] For a brief statement on the development of Church government in the early centuries, particularly the transition from presbyterian to episcopal rule, see M(arcel) Simon and A(ndré) Benoit, *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme antique* (Nouvelle Clio 10), Paris, Presses universitaires, 1968, ch. VII: "Les institutions ecclésiastiques," pp. 173–178; also for the archiepiscopal and patriarchal sees in major cities see Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Pelican History of the Church 1), Penguin Books, 1967 (and reprints) p. 165.

[21] For the development of the Papacy, see Simon and Benoit (preceding n.), p. 178, and Chadwick (preceding n.), ch. 16, pp. 237–246. A still valuable collection and discussion of sources is James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (in Columbia Records of Civilization), Columbia University Press, 1927. This gives passages both for "The Petrine Tradition" (bk. II, pp. 211–216) and for "The Rise of the See" (bk. II, pp. 211–216); it carries this last down to the death of Pope Damasus in 385. The genuineness of the tradition of Peter's presence and death in Rome has been placed on a new footing by the excavation during the Second World War of his traditional burial place beneath the high altar of St. Peter's; for a brief bibliography on these excavations see Margherita Guarducci, *Pietro Ritrovato*, Italy, Mondadori, 1969, pp. 153–154. See also for a full discussion of all aspects of the Petrine presence in Rome, with a long bibliography, Daniel Wm. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome . . .*, Columbia University Press, 1969.

an aura of divinity, and for Christians was elected by God and ruled under his special protection. In consequence, although the early Church had been divided over the issue whether spiritual authority was vested in a group of presbyters, or priests, or in the single bishop, the latter view won out. Bishops derived their spiritual authority from God, not from any human source. Even though it might be admitted in the west that temporal sovereignty was independent of ecclesiastical authority and in the east that it might even be superior, such sovereignty was likewise held to be bestowed by God on the sovereign, and not to be granted by any organ of the state.[22] When, therefore, in the Late Empire local civil government broke down and people turned to their bishops, first for jurisdiction, then for food and other charity, and finally for administration and defense, the bishops acted not as agents of a popularly based city-state, or even of a secular ruler, but as representatives appointed by God to protect their flocks.[23] It should be noted that the assumption of civic responsibility by bishops was more necessary in the west, where the imperial government completely broke down, than in the east, where the central government continued during the Byzantine period to send representatives to the cities and also to use the Church and its organization as an instrument of government.[24]

[22] For the difference between the western and eastern churches in their justifications of temporal sovereignty see Chadwick (cited above in n. 20) pp. 165–166.

[23] For the breakdown of central civil administration and the rise of local episcopal power in northern Gaul, see Eugen Ewig, "Von der Kaiserstadt zur Bischofstadt: Beobachtungen zur Geschichte von Trier im 5 Jahrhundert" in Werner Besch and others, edd., *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte* (cited· above in n. 1) pp. 59–73. Ewig traces the gradual severance of relations between Trier and southern Gaul and the consequent weakening of civil authority and an assumption of administration by the bishops. For the replacement of local autonomy in Byzantine cities by a combination of authoritarian ecclesiastical and civil (imperial) administrations see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51), pp. 7–8.

[24] For the assumption of civil responsibility and authority by bishops during the Late Roman Empire, Prof. Giles Constable (Harvard) kindly suggests that the best treatment of the subject (a topic which, he feels, merits further investigation) is: Sergio Mochi Onory, *Vescovi e Città: sec. IV–VI* (Bibl. della Rivista di Storia del Diritto italiano 8), Bologna, Zanichelli, 1933. Mochi Onory's preface, pp. ix–xxx, summarizes his general argument; in the remainder of the book he documents in more detail the gradual development of the bishop's civil authority. He limits his study to Italy since, though Gaul and Spain offer parallels, the development in those provinces was not the same as in Italy. The general tenor of his preface suggests that in assuming civil functions the bishops and their clerical staffs replaced, rather than simply continuing, the previous civil functionaries. Thus this would constitute a break in the continuity of

Familiar examples of the civil role of bishops in the fifth century are those of Synesius, unwillingly made bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica but nevertheless leading its inhabitants in defense of their city against Berber raiders, or Sidonius Apollinaris, equally reluctantly made bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in Gaul and then having to organize its defense against, and later its negotiations with, the Visigoths and Burgundians.[25]

Furthermore, even if the Church or the barbarian kings or later mediaeval rulers, bishops, or barons around whose castles villages or towns developed, continued to use terms derived from Roman bureaucratic or municipal practice, it does not follow that there was any real continuity of office or function. It is a common human trait to go on using old terms for offices which have wholly changed their character or to apply old terms to newly created offices. Moreover, the bureaucracies of the barbarian kings and their mediaeval successors as overlords usually had a personal relation to them, in the Germanic tradition. The Church preserved to a greater extent the classical concept of a bureaucracy which belonged to the community, whether city, church, or diocese, and which continued in being through successive changes of head. But in either case the passage of time, Christianization, barbarization, and new needs so altered whatever institutions may have survived from antiquity that change must be regarded as outweighing continuity in estimating the significance of any classical survivals for the emergence of mediaeval towns.

Physical buildings of the classical period had already begun to be damaged or not kept in repair during the confusion of the mid-third century. This was also a period in which walls were erected around many cities, particularly in the west, as defenses against barbarian inroads. These walls survived to a varying degree through the Dark Ages and more often than not served as the basis for, or the major

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municipal institutions. See also Vittinghoff (cited above in n. 10) toward the end. Jones does not discuss episcopal civil authority in ch. XXII: "The Church," pp. 863–937 of his *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8), and does so only briefly in his *The Greek City* (cited above in n. 9). For the eastern Empire see Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 13) II, 361–362, which is based on Justinian's legislation on the subject; also Louis Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin II: Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, Michel, 1949, pp. 526–528.

[25] For Synesius' defense of Ptolemais, see *Real-Enc. der class. Alt. Wiss.* (Pauly-Wissowa) 2 Reihe 8 Halbb. col. 1363 under *Synesios* 1; for Sidonius as bishop of Clermont-Ferrand (Augustonemetum), see ibid. 4 Halbb. col. 2232 under *Sidonius* 1.

element in, later mediaeval city walls.[26] The best known example of a wall originally built during the crisis of the third century and which survives almost intact is that with which Aurelian (270–275) surrounded Rome.[27]

After the damage caused by the troubles of the third century, buildings were restored, or new ones built, during the relatively prosperous fourth century. However, when Theodosius prohibited pagan worship at the end of that century, although occasional decrees were issued to enforce respect for pagan temples as monuments, these were allowed to fall into decay or were looted for building materials.[28] During the sixth and subsequent centuries in the west, buildings which still stood were put to uses different from their original purposes and thus continued to be preserved.[29] An obvious change of use was, of

[26] For the origin and development of city walls in Gaul see Adrien Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule etc.*, Paris, Leroux, 1907.

[27] For Aurelian's wall around Rome see Ian A. Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome: An Account of its Architectural Development from Aurelian to Narses*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930.

[28] An older collection of imperial edicts against paganism is Maude A. Huttman, *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism* (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University LX. 2, whole no. 147), Longmans, Green (for Columbia University), 1914. For edicts attempting to enforce respect for pagan temples because of their artistic value see *Cod. Theod.* LVI title 10 nos. 3 (Constantius and Constans), 8 (Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius), 15 (Arcadius and Honorius), 18 (the same), 19.2 (Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II; temples to be put to other public uses). However, in this same title are stringent prohibitions against use of temples for pagan worship and orders for the destruction of temples and altars.

[29] A well-known older description of the transformation of pagan buildings to other uses during the Middle Ages is Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1893. Later archaeological investigation has, of course, somewhat modified his conclusions; see Leon Homo, *Rome médiévale, 477–1420 etc.*, Paris, Payot, 1956, pt. IV: "Au sein de la Rome médiévale etc.," chs. I–II, pp. 119–162. A recent book by Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, London, Faber & Faber, 1970, is historical and has no separate discussion of buildings. Since Byzantine Constantinople began as a Christian city and had a continuous history until the Turkish conquest, its buildings, though sometimes damaged or destroyed by fire or rioting, remained in use for more or less their original purposes until 1453. Here again, an older description, Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, Boston, Roberts Bros., 2 vols., 1895, is fuller on the buildings (in vols. I–II, chs. VII–X, pp. 288–674) than are, for instance, Glanville Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (The Centers of Civilization 3), University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, ch. I: "The City of Justinian and Its People," pp. 14–42, or Dean A. Miller, *Imperial Constantinople* (in New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities), New York, Wiley, 1969, in ch. I: "The City," pp. 1–21.

course, the transformation of a temple into a church, of which examples
come readily to mind: the Pantheon in Rome, the temple on the height
of Ortygia in Syracuse, the Parthenon in Athens, the temple of the
deified Augustus at Ancyra.[30] In the east, such buildings might later
become mosques, as did the Parthenon and the temple at Ancyra.

Many classical buildings served as quarries for later construction or
were buried under accumulated rubbish until revealed by the spade of
the archaeologist. Indeed, an impressive visual symbol of the decay of
classical municipal institutions and urban spirit is the archaeological
evidence for the encroachment of private buildings on public streets.
This occurred even during the relative prosperity of the fourth century;
e.g., a Christian basilica at Ostia was, probably during the fourth century,
built in part on an earlier street.[31] This failure to respect public ways
and to keep them clear and clean surely indicates that circulation
within cities and communication between them was becoming less
frequent and that municipal or higher authorities either would not or
could not prevent people from regarding streets or highways as available
for private use.[32]

A further argument against continuity might be that nascent medi-
aeval towns in the west did not necessarily emerge on classical sites.
In part, mediaeval towns emerged in areas where, although classical sites
had remained in continuous occupation, it is likely that the Romanized
population had either been wiped out, moved out, or absorbed by the
barbarian invaders. This seems to have been true in England. The
same appears to have occurred in the provinces along the upper and

[30] For the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches, Dr. Clive
Foss (below n. 51) kindly provided two references: Friederich W. Deichmann,
"Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *Jahrbuch des deutschen
archäologischen Instituts* 54, 1 (1939), pp. 105–136, which lists examples by
various regions in both eastern and western (many fewer) Empires; and Alison
Franz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *Dumbarton
Oaks Papers* 19 (1965) 185–205, followed by 22 ills. on 8 plates. Miss Franz
would date the chief three conversions, of the Parthenon, of the Erechtheum,
and of the Hephaisteon (Theseon) as at least post Justinianic (pp. 201–205).

[31] For the basilica of Ostia see Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford,
Clarendon Press, 1960, pp. 397–399; a revised paperback edition is in prepara-
tion. Meiggs, at the bottom of p. 398, dates the basilica tentatively to the fourth
century.

[32] Dr. Clive Foss (below, n. 51) found examples in the cities of western Asia
Minor of roads built over during the fourth century. He notes that *Cod. Theod.*
XV title 1, *de operibus publicis*, has much to say about the repair and maintenance
of public buildings and that pars. 38 and 39 contain edicts of Theodosius,
Arcadius, and Honorius against erecting private constructions against public
buildings or on streets.

middle Danube. This topic, mentioned earlier, will be resumed presently.

It is therefore in the regions where Roman civilization had become more deeply rooted and municipalization more thoroughly achieved that scholars look for evidence of continuity from classical to late mediaeval times. Spain, southern France (Provence), and Italy were overrun by barbarians during the fifth century but in them the barbarians respected Roman culture, came to terms with local populations, and made use of Roman cities for their capitals. Thus it is possible that in these provinces, the inhabitants of the cities were able to perpetuate their institutions with a minimum of interference from their new rulers and could still feel some civic commitment. It is therefore worthwhile to examine each of the areas of the western Empire separately to try to determine how far in each scholars have detected real survivals of classical municipal institutions and civic spirit.

The western half of the northern coast of Africa throughout the Roman period was grouped with the western or European part of the Empire. It contained, of course, a number of important cities which had long been Romanized, notably Carthage since its resettlement by Julius Caesar. These cities had already begun to decline in the fourth century, but the Vandals, when they overran North Africa in the early fifth century, on the whole respected them. Carthage, indeed, had a certain brilliance as the seat of the Vandal court and a center of Latin culture. However, the cities suffered from constant Berber raids; nor did the reconquest by Justinian in 533/4 do much to restore them. It did, however, shift at least the area behind Carthage, Tunisia, into the sphere of the Byzantine Empire.[33] The Arab conquest of North Africa which began in the seventh century both reinforced the shift of the area to the eastern sphere and also dealt a considerable blow to the cities.[34] After the Arabs destroyed Carthage in 698 and its harbor silted up, they moved from its site to a less significant city, Tunis, further inside the bay.[35] This they connected to the deep water by a canal and

[33] For cities in late imperial and Vandal North Africa, see Christian Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (publ. under the auspices of Service des Antiquités, Direction de l'Intérieur et des Beaux-Arts, Gouvernement général de l'Algérie), Paris, Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1955, pp. 313–316.

[34] For the Arab occupation of Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Roman North Africa, see Ch(arles)-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, ed. 2, by Christian Courtois (revised reprint by Roger Le Tourneau; from ed. 1, 1931), Paris, Payot, 2 vols. 1968–69, in vol. I, "Conclusion: La Survivance de Rome," pp. 277–279, and in vol. II, ch. I: "La Conquête arabe etc.," pp. 11–40.

[35] For the destruction of Carthage see G(abriel) G. Lapeyre and A(rthur) Pellegrin, *Carthage latine et chrétienne*, Paris, Payot, 1950, pp. 190–191. The

made it their political and commercial center, though their religious
capital was at Kairouan, further south on the edge of the desert. The
ruins of Carthage first served as a quarry for the enlargement of Tunis
and, much later, were exploited to build the Cathedral of Pisa in Italy.
In general, after Justinian's recovery of Cyrene and Tunisia and then the
Arab conquest of the whole area, west to the Atlantic, the fate of its
cities belongs to the urban history of the Near East, not to that of
western Europe.

To go to the opposite extreme of Europe, northern Germany had at
most received slight Romanization from venturesome traders or per-
haps from mercenaries who, after service in the imperial armies, had
returned to their homes. But according to Professor Ennen, the culture
of the Germans remained until the Late Middle Ages basically agri-
cultural, without cities, or at best with small trading posts (burgs or
wiks) and with a social organization based on kinship, i.e. on the family
and the tribe, and on loyalty between persons rather than of persons
to places.[36] Out of such interpersonal loyalty developed the guilds
of the later Middle Ages. Development of communities larger than
agricultural villages or trading centers was in part owing to the needs
of defense but even more to the increase of long-range trade, because
of which the centers became more ambitious market towns. The traders
themselves tended to come from further south and brought with them
concepts of urbanization from the Rhineland and northern Gaul. Thus,
as was noted above, if there were any classical influences at work,
these must be sought first in the Rhineland and northern Gaul.

In England the Roman cities had begun to decay in the late fourth
century, and the withdrawal of Roman troops during the early fifth
century left the Romanized Celts to their own devices.[37] The Anglo-

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Arabs first took the city in about 692 but the Byzantines briefly recaptured it in
697. For the emergence of Tunis see p. 193. For the use of the ruins of Carthage
as a quarry for Tunis see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 2 Reihe Halbb. 14 (1943),
col. 1360 under *Tunis.*

[36] For the character of German society, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte* ch. 2:
"Die germanische Welt in ihrem Verhältnis zur städtischen Lebensform,"
pp. 37–83. The conclusion summarized in the text is partly on p. 84. For burgs
and wiks, see above at the end of n. 5.

[37] For the gradual desertion of British cities during the Late Roman Empire,
see R(obin) G. Collingwood and J(ohn) N. L. Myers, *Roman Britain and the
English Settlements* (Oxford History of England I), Oxford University Press,
ed. 2, 1937 (and reprints: only slightly corrected from, and with the same
pagination as, ed. 1, 1936) pp. 316–319 (Collingwood): "The Desertion of
Roman Sites." See also Sheppard Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman*

Saxon invaders, who began to arrive in the first half of the fifth century, gradually, and in the face of Celtic resistance, overran England and either slaughtered the Romanized Celts, or drove them into Wales and across the Channel to Britanny, or slowly absorbed them. Many Roman sites, such as London, Chester, Lincoln, and York, continued to be inhabited and possibly their scanty populations preserved for a while some Roman institutions or spirit. But the Anglo-Saxons did not adopt these, or indeed Roman culture. Moreover they moved the inhabited centers of other sites, as from Verulamium to St. Albans, or abandoned them entirely, as Calleva Atrebatum, where the small modern village of Silchester is three quarters of a mile from the excavated Roman city.[38] Roman culture was not reintroduced until after the Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England, which began in the late fifth century with the mission of St. Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory from Rome in 597.[39] Only about 634 did missionaries from Ireland, already active on the continent, begin to convert the north of England. Thus when Latin culture reappeared in the early eighth century, it combined continental and Irish elements, but in this revival municipal institutions and civic spirit had no part; learning was fostered in monasteries.[40]

The Danubian and Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire fell, in consequence of its division, into a European portion on the upper and Middle Danube, extending from Switzerland southeast through

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Britain (in History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire), London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Harvard University Press, 1967, ch. 19: "The end of Roman Britain," pp. 360–383. In this chapter, the decay of the Roman cities before the Anglo-Saxon invasion and their lot thereafter are discussed on pp. 375 (bottom)–378 (top). These pages summarize an earlier article: S(heppard) S. Frere, "The End of Towns in Roman Britain," pp. 87–100 of J. S. Wacher, ed., *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*, Leicester University Press, 1966.

[38] For the effect on Roman cities of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain, see Collingwood and Myers (cited in the preceding note), ch. XXIV (Myers): "The Character of the Conquest," pp. 424–456. Myers doubts any survival of cities, except for physical ruins, or of Christianity. See also the articles and quotations in Benton, *Town Origins*, pp. 42–48.

[39] For the Christianizing of Anglo-Saxon England, see (Sir) Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England c. 550–1087* (Oxford History of England II), Oxford University Press, ed. 2, 1947 (and reprints; only slightly corrected from, and with the same pagination as, ed. 1, 1943) ch. IV: "The Conversion of England," pp. 96–129.

[40] For the revival of learning in Anglo-Saxon England, see Stenton (cited in the preceding note) ch. VI: "Learning and Literature in Early England," pp. 177–199.

northern Jugoslavia to a line roughly from Belgrade on the Danube to
the northern frontier of Albania on the Adriatic, and a Byzantine portion
south from the lower Danube through the Balkans to the Bosporus and
Aegean Sea. In the European half, Roman cities had developed along
the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic and around the legionary camps in
the valleys of the Save and Danube. However, these cities had decayed
during the Late Empire and were swept away by the invasions of the
Alamanni and Slavs.[41] Thus in this area there appears to have been no
continuity from the late imperial cities to those of the Middle Ages.

In northern Gaul and the Rhineland, the crisis of the third century
had, as already noted, led to a shrinkage in the size of cities and to the
protection of their central portions by walls.[42] Although the Roman
sites continued in general to be inhabited after the barbarian invasions
and to have some sort of urban life under the protection of their
bishops, usually only a portion of the original walled area, which itself
had been contracted from the classical extent of the given city, was
occupied, or else there was a shift of habitation, which probably began
in the last days of Roman rule, from the original centers to the suburbs,
where Christians settled around the shrines of martyrs or other early

[41] For the fate of Roman cities in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia
(the general area of Illyricum), see J(ohn) J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (in History of
the Roman Provinces), London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Harvard Univer-
sity Press, 1969, ch. XV, iv: "The Slav Conquest," pp. 435–437. For destruc-
tion by the Alamanni, see Ennen in Benton, *Town Origins*, p. 12. In the original
"Formation," p. 299 n. 5, Ennen says that full bibliographical references will
be found in p. 561 n. 2 of E(ugen) Ewig, "Das Fortleben römischer Institu-
tionen in Gallien und Germanien," Comitato internaz. di Scienze storiche,
Relazioni VI (Florence, 1955) 561–598. The reports of the tenth International
Congress of Historical Studies, held in Rome in 1955, were published in two
forms by Sansoni at Florence, first as the official publication in 7 vols. by the
Committee in charge, that cited by Ennen, and shortly thereafter as 6 vols. in
the Bibl. Storica Sansoni. In this last, Ewig's article appears not in vol. VI
but in vol. I (Bibl. vol. XXII): *Metologia, Problemi generali, Scienze ausiliarie
della storia* (also 1955). It occupies pp. 549–586 as the third of four articles on
"La sopravvivenza delle istituzioni giurdiche romane." These articles are
concerned primarily with the survival of Roman legal institutions: in Italy,
during the Middle Ages generally, in Gaul and Germany, and in the orthodox
countries. Ewig discusses continuity in the cities on pp. 557–560 of this text
(= VI, 569–572). In this text the bibliography to which Ennen refers is in
p. 549 n. 2.
[42] For a detailed discussion of the shrinkage and fortification of the cities of
Roman Gaul during the third century and the later history of their walls and
extent see Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule* (cited above in n. 26);
the author gives a summary statement in his introduction, pp. 4–11.

churches.[43] Ancient walls and buildings fell into decay until the Norman invasions of the tenth century led to the repair or reconstruction at least of the walls. The Merovingian kings continued to use old Roman cities for their capitals and administrative centers. However, the Carolingian monarchs kept their courts on the move and, while Aachen and Regersburg were their titular capitals, they preferred to occupy fortified castles. Even the counts or grafs whom they appointed as governors were assigned to territories, and although they might have residences in the cities they also preferred their castles.

Thus by the end of the Carolingian period, although Roman cities might still be inhabited and even serve as centers of commerce, there was little left of the late antique municipal administration or urban spirit.[44] Such cultural continuity as there was lay in the life of the Church. Bishops still resided in the old urban centers, which contained both their cathedrals and the administrative offices for their dioceses; that is, the communities were cult and ecclesiastical centers, not secular cities.[45] Moreover there was a vast change of character when such centers began to develop trade and handicrafts and self-government, i.e., when they began to emerge as mediaeval towns. Hence there does not appear to have been any continuity of municipal institutions or civic spirit from late antiquity in northern Gaul or the Rhineland.

There remain the three central and traditional areas of Romanized western Europe, namely Spain, southern Gaul (Provence), and particularly, of course, Italy. In these regions, as already observed, the barbarian invaders respected the Roman cities and population. Evidence has been seen for the survival of civic spirit, if not of municipal institutions, in the fact that when rulers or overlords began granting immunities and privileges, they did so not, as in northern Europe, to guilds

[43] For the history of the Roman sites in northern Gaul and the Rhineland from 600 to the end of the Carolingian era, c. 900, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 84–103. Ennen distinguishes between *civitates*, the surviving late imperial cities, and burgs, or fortified manorial castles, whether ecclesiastical, baronial, or royal. On pp. 103–106, she illustrates the shift of habitation in the Roman cities from the old centers to the suburbs where Christian shrines had come into being during the Late Empire. Her conclusions are summarized in Benton, *Town Origins*, pp. 13–14; see also briefly Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, p. 39 for Bonn.

[44] For the real break in continuity from the Late Empire in those Roman cities in northern Gaul and the Rhineland which continued to be occupied during the Dark Ages and Carolingian period, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 103–121; *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 43–45.

[45] For the continued residence of bishops in cities and their maintenance of a semblance of urban life in northern Gaul and the Rhineland, see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 25–26, 42–43.

but directly to the inhabitants of a given community.[46] Moreover, although in Spain and southern France, Roman municipal institutions seem entirely to have vanished — and it may be remembered that these areas were overrun in the eighth century by the Arabs, who remained for centuries established in southern Spain — in Italy the classical cities not only continued to serve as commercial or industrial centers but retained a considerable community solidarity.[47] However, even given the continuity of habitation and of civic spirit, it is reasonable to hold that the gradual transformation of municipal institutions in Italy as elsewhere, first at the hands of the Church and then under the rule of successive conquerors, Lombards, Normans, and Carolingians, represented an effective break in continuity from antiquity.

The emergent towns in Italy do not show such markedly different characteristics from those in northern Europe that they can be proven to have had a primary stimulus from classical survivals, rather than from the same contemporary causes which acted elsewhere: the development of trade and handicrafts and the consequent civic self-consciousness of the new social classes which led them to secure from feudal or ecclesiastical overlords recognition or rights of self-government. In particular, ports like Amalfi or Venice would have been encouraged in their municipal development by their contact with the few still active ports of the Byzantine Empire, notably with Constantinople.[48]

To conclude, in western Europe continuity of municipal institutions or of civic spirit from the cities of the Late Roman Empire was at most

[46] For the difference that privileges were granted by overlords in northern Europe to guilds but in southern Europe and particularly in Italy to the inhabitants of a community taken as a single body, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 234–247, especially p. 241 (top).

[47] For continuity of municipal life in Italy, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 223–224, and her summary remarks in Benton, *Town Origins*, p. 12 col. 2; also Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 31–33. In the original "Formation," p. 399 n. 2, as evidence for economic and social continuity in the Po Valley, Ennen cites Cinzio Violante, *La società milanese nell'età precomunale* (publ. no. 4 of the Ist. italiano per gli studi storici in Napoli), Bari, Laterza, 1953. This is primarily an economic study of the revival, partly under the stimulus of survivals from the Late Roman Empire, of trade and agriculture, and the consequent emergence of new social classes who transformed pre-existing communities into cities. There is no reference to the survival of municipal institutions or of civic spirit.

[48] For trade as the major element in the emergence of towns throughout mediaeval Europe see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt* ch. 2: "Die neuen Ansätze," pp. 46–72. She discusses the impact of trade with the Arabs on pp. 70–72 but apparently says nothing about trade with Constantinople, for which see Robert S. Lopez, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe II* (1952) ch. V: "The Trade of Medieval Europe — The South," pp. 300–303.

only one, and perhaps the least important, of the factors which may explain the emergence of mediaeval towns.[49] And it must be recognized that in many, if not most, instances what emerged in the Late Middle Ages were towns in the sense that that term has been defined above, and that there were few real cities until considerably later. Furthermore, if continuity there was, it was not any continuity from the self-governing classical city-state, which had ceased to exist under the oppressive and centralized autocracy of the Late Empire. Even the municipal councils, *curiae*, of the late Roman cities were merely agents of the imperial government, which appointed its own officials to exercise authority in the cities. Moreover, the institutions and civic spirit of the late imperial cities were slowly altered as first the Church and then the barbarians took over. And the changes which occurred during the centuries from about 600 to about 1100 were such as to make any real continuity illusory. Even in Italy, where continuity not only of habitation but of some sense of community is probable, it can hardly be supposed that had a citizen of, say, Milan of the fifth century, been translated to Milan of the eleventh, he would have found anything except a few ruins to remind him of the Roman city. In short, the emergence of mediaeval towns should be regarded as an instance of independent creativity in societies which had reached a certain level of economic and social development and not as an example of historic continuity.

It is of course true that as the mediaeval towns became increasingly large and extended their influence further, i.e., developed into true cities, their municipal institutions began to assume a classical coloring and the inhabitants commenced speaking of themselves and of their civic spirit in classical terms. But this assimilation represents one aspect of the revival of classical learning which, beginning in the Late Middle Ages, came to its flowering in the Renaissance. Here then there is not a continuity of classical elements but a reintroduction thereof. Cities,

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[49] Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, p. 45, concludes, contrary to the argument of this paper, that: "Despite all shrinkage, I see in the Roman and Roman-Christian inheritance of the area between the Seine and the Rhine a spiritual force and positive material conditions which operated in the Middle Ages and which were of significance for the reflowering of an urbanism." But she admits at the opening of p. 46 that "The Roman inheritance is only *one* initiating force of mediaeval urbanism." It is concluded in the text above that even if a certain continuity can be traced, particularly in Italy, transformation of institutions and new attitudes toward life meant that this continuity was of little if any significance in the emergence of mediaeval towns either in northern Europe or in the Mediterranean lands.

like so much else in the Renaissance, adopted a classical veneer to clothe their indigenous character.[50]

The cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire had down to the sixth century much the same history as did those in the west.[51] Local self-government slowly ceased under the encroachment of the imperial government from the second through the fourth century.[52] Municipal institutions, especially the councils, or *curiae*, become instruments for the collection of taxes for the central administration, and membership had to be made compulsory. Yet the cities still played an important role in local administration, as centers of trade and industry, and for the Church. Their inhabitants retained a lively sense of belonging to communities, as witness the hostile reaction of the people of Antioch

[50] Professor Richard M. Morse of Yale University, one of the participants in the Conference (above, n. 1), kindly supplied an offprint of his article: "A Prolegomenon to Latin American Urban History" in *The Hispanic American Review* 52.3 (August 1972) 359–394. He traces two relationships between the classical urban experience and the emergence of cities in mediaeval Europe, particularly Spain, which in turn served as prototypes for the cities founded in the Spanish colonies. The first is significant for the discussion in the text above, namely, the intellectual impact of the classical urban experience and of classical discussion thereof (as well as of Christian doctrine) on late mediaeval and Renaissance urban theory and planning, pp. 364–370. The second, and less significant, relationship is the parallelism between some aspects of Roman and Spanish technique of colonization, pp. 371–373. This, of course, is not an instance of direct imitation but of similar reactions to similar conditions. Professor Morse goes on in pp. 373–394 to analyze the relationship between mediaeval cities in northern Europe and those in Spain and Portugal, which were also affected by Arab antecedents.

[51] Dr. Clive Foss, of the University of Massachusetts in Boston, has much improved this paper by his comments thereon, by providing bibliographical references, and by permitting the use for the eastern cities of the arguments and conclusions of his thesis entitled "The History of the Cities of Western Asia Minor under the Late Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire," submitted to Harvard University in 1973; various portions of this should be published in the near future. Dr. Foss holds that these cities passed through vicissitudes which were generally characteristic of cities in the Byzantine Empire, especially throughout Asia Minor. Very important also for the late Byzantine period and the transition to the Islamic world is Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Century* (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California at Los Angeles, no. 4), University of California Press, 1971. This has already been cited as Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.*

[52] For the decline of municipal autonomy in Byzantine cities see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited in the preceding note) pp. 7–8, already cited above in n. 23.

to the emperor Julian when he resided in their city for part of 362.[53] He replied to their jeers in a sarcastic oration which he called "The Hater of Beards," *Misopogon*, because he pretended to be critical of his own austerity and of the beard which he wore as a devotee of philosophy. The easterners, far more than the westerners, became very vociferous and riotous about theological doctrine and factional churchmen.[54]

During the fifth and sixth centuries the eastern cities, under Byzantine rule, remained far more flourishing than did those of the west, abandoned to the barbarian monarchs. The classical sites continued to be inhabited, nor did the populations move out as they often did in the west, to settle around some important Christian shrine in the suburbs. For instance, at Ephesus there had arisen a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist on a hill north of the city, overlooking the old temple of Artemis. Although Justinian rebuilt this in magnificent style, the hilltop was not fortified until an uncertain date well after his reign. During the Middle Ages a settlement grew up on the slopes of the hill beneath the fortification but this does not appear to have become the chief center until about the eleventh century, by which time the old harbor had thoroughly silted up.[55] It has already been noted that although the bishops in eastern cities, as in the western, began from the sixth century to assume civil responsibility, nevertheless in the east the imperial government continued to maintain civil officials both in the cities and in the provinces, and in the themes which replaced them. However, after the reign of Justinian, who died in 565, not only had the civic spirit and self-government of the classical city-state been forgotten for many centuries, but even the late imperial

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[53] For Julian and his speech to the people of Antioch, entitled *Misopogon*, see Bidez, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julian* (cited above in the middle of n. 14), ch. XI: "À Antioche etc.," pp. 277–280.

[54] For popular agitation and acclamations in eastern cities see above nn. 11–13, 15–16, and also Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8) pp. 722–723; he does not discuss theological quarrels. For the unruliness of the populations of Alexandria and Antioch see Louis Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin* (cited above at the end of n. 24) III: *La Civilization byzantine* (1950) pp. 11, 116, 118–119. Vryonis argues that in the Byzantine cities, the craft guilds became the vehicle for the exerting of popular pressure on government, see his article "Byzantine *dēmocratía* etc." cited above in n. 17. For the continuance of craft guilds in Islamic cities see Vyronis, "The Byzantine Legacy . . ." (cited below in n. 60) p. 285.

[55] Dr Foss hopes to publish separately the chapter of his thesis (above n. 51) which deals with late imperial and Byzantine Ephesus and from which the brief statement in the text above is derived. For the active life of Ephesus from the eighth to the eleventh century see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) p. 11.

municipal institutions and patterns of urban life had been thoroughly transformed into mere offshoots of the central imperial autocracy.[56]

The cities of the early Byzantine period did not, however, suffer the neglect and decay which overtook those of the west during the Dark Ages. The emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries succeeded in diverting into the Balkans those barbarians, notably the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, who came across the lower Danube. As this region became increasingly ravaged and unable to support new barbarian populations, these moved westward, lured by the riches and defenselessness of Italy and the western provinces. The heavy fortifications of Constantinople, and the watergap constituted by the Bosporus, Sea of Marmora, and Hellespont (Dardanelles) kept them out of Asia Minor (Anatolia), and permitted the cities there to continue a relatively uninterrupted existence. However, the cities further south, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, suffered from incursions first of the Persians and after the seventh century of the Arabs. These last rapidly spread over the northern portion of Africa and by the eighth century were established as far west as the southern half of Spain. They also pushed northward to occupy Syria and to harass Asia Minor. Raids both of the Persians and of the Arabs, which pushed deep into Byzantine territory, were an extremely important, if not the major, factor in the decline of the cities of Asia Minor during the middle and late Byzantine period. At the same time, the Balkans, already ravaged by the Goths, were occupied by various Slavonic peoples and from the seventh century by the Bulgars, a Tartar tribe.

Because of these external pressures and its own and internal weaknesses, the Byzantine state was in an enfeebled condition from the seventh to the ninth centuries and its cities were very much reduced in size, number of inhabitants, and elegance of buildings.[57] In many cases the inhabitants moved up from locations in river valleys or plains to defensible positions on nearby hilltops. Thus the people of Colossae in southwestern Phrygia abandoned the classical site and took refuge in a fortress called Chonae.[58] Such moves were dictated by the need for security, not as in the west, by the desire to live under the protection

[56] For the continuing presence in Byzantine cities of imperial officials alongside the ecclesiastical organization see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) pp. 7–8, already cited above in nn. 18 and 23.

[57] Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) pp. 7, 11–12, argues that there was no general decline of cities in Asia Minor after the seventh century, contrary to the conclusions of Dr. Foss's thesis (above, n. 51).

[58] The statement in the text above about Colossae/Chonae and Hierapolis are based on Dr. Foss' unpublished thesis (above, n. 51).

of some saint's shrine. For instance, at Hierapolis, which had an easily defensible position on a cliff north of Laodicea (west of Colossae/Chonae), the inhabitants abandoned a famous suburban shrine of St. Philip to withdraw within the city walls. Beginning in the ninth century and for about two centuries thereafter, a stronger imperial government permitted in Asia Minor a return of some prosperity and activity to the moribund cities. But the late Byzantine Empire was constantly subject to invasion by Mongols, by Turks, first Seljuk and then Ottoman, and by the various crusades which crossed its territories. Indeed, the Fourth Crusade took and held Constantinople from 1204 to 1261. During these years the Byzantine power was maintained by several smaller states, notably that of Nicaea in northwestern Asia Minor. But even before the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople, the Mongols had begun to occupy both eastern Asia Minor and the Persian and Arab states in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Finally, during the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turks undertook the final conquest of Asia Minor, which climaxed with the capture of Constantinople in 1463.[59]

In consequence of these successive invasions, the cities of Asia Minor, apart from such ports as Smyrna (Izmir) and Thessalonika (Saloniki), and of such important cities as Ephesus and, of course, Constantinople itself, remained the forts or strongholds surrounded by miserable settlements, to which they had already been reduced after the seventh century.[60] It is therefore safe to assume that any civic spirit or municipal institutions which lasted beyond the time of Justinian became completely moribund before the various portions of the empire fell into the hands of the invaders. In fact, it is likely that, despite the greater continuity and longer lasting prosperity of cities under Byzantine control as compared to those which passed during the

[59] A good survey of the Seljuk and Ottoman conquest of Asia Minor is given by Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) ch. II: "Political and Military Collapse of Byzantium in Asia Minor," pp. 69–142. He places the turning point at the defeat of the Byzantines by the Seljuks in the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and he blames this defeat on the weakening of the Byzantine resistance by an internal conflict for power between the bureaucrats and their emperors in Constantinople and military pretenders from the provinces. The discussion in the text above is also based on comments by Dr. Foss (above, n. 51) and on the similar discussion in Hammond, *City in the Ancient World* (cited above in the text par. 6) pp. 341–344, with bibliography on pp. 543–549.

[60] For lists of cities in Asia Minor destroyed or abandoned in consequence of the invasions of the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks see Speros Vyronis, Jr., "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 23/24 (1969/70) 265–266 (the whole article occupies pp. 251–300).

sixth century to barbarians in the west, the final conquest by the Turks
in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was made easier by the apathy
of the oppressed and reduced urban populations, just as had occurred
in the west eight centuries earlier.

The Arabs not infrequently occupied the Byzantine cities which
they captured, but they also founded wholly new ones.[61] For example,
in Egypt Alexandria, because of its commerce, continued to be a city
in the terms defined earlier in this paper and is still so today. But Cairo,
at the head of the Delta, was a new, purely Arab foundation on the site
of a Roman fort. It lies some twelve miles north of the ancient Egyptian
city of Memphis and some six miles west of the sacred center of Helio-
polis. Similarly, in Mesopotamia the Arabs did not occupy any of the
older capitals, but built a new one, Baghdad, on the Tigris in the narrow
neck of land between the rivers which connects ancient Assyria in the
north with even more ancient Sumer in the south. Baghdad is some
fifteen miles north of the Parthian capital of Ctesiphon, which lay just
across the Tigris from Hellenistic Seleucia. The much older capital,
Babylon, lies even further to the southwest, on the Euphrates. In North
Africa, the shift of population under the Arabs from Carthage to Tunis
has already been mentioned.

Mohammedanism began as a city-oriented religion.[62] Nevertheless,
Arab society was based on tribal kinship, not on classical traditions of
citizenship. In some cases, indeed, the Arabian conquerors did not
actually occupy the cities which they captured but built walled quarters
outside of the walls, in which they continued to live under their chiefs.
Arab states did develop capitals distinguished for trade, wealth,
number of inhabitants, and culture; it is only necessary to recall
Baghdad under Harun-al-Rashid around 800, or Cairo, or Cordova.
By and large, however, although under the Arabs cities continued to be
inhabited and served as commercial or industrial centers, and although
Byzantine buildings continued in use, as in Damascus, nevertheless the
cities of the Arab world had no municipal institutions of their own and
little real civic spirit. Even more than in the later Byzantine period,
cities were simply dependencies of the rulers to whom they belonged

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[61] For a bibliography on the Islamic city and opinions for and against any
inheritance from the Byzantine city, see Hammond, *City*, pp. 544–546. The
chief proponent of continuity has been the French scholar Claude Cahen, in
works there cited.

[62] The urban origin of Mohammedanism (Islam) was argued by F. Benet,
cited in Hammond, *City*, p. 546, and by Prof. Paul Wheatley of the University
of Chicago in his paper at the Conference (above, n. 1).

and who appointed officials to govern them. It is safe to assume that little survived in them of the classical city or city-state.[63]

The Seljuk Turks were, like the Arabs, urban-minded. In Asia Minor, such cities as Ephesus, Miletus, and Magnesia on the Hermus continued to have some prosperity despite the disturbances of the times. The Ottoman Turks were much more strongly oriented toward the country. In their conquest of Byzantine territory, they preserved some cities to serve as capitals and as centers for trade and industry; notably, of course, Constantinople. But on the whole they neglected the cities and settled on the land, much as had the Germanic invaders centuries earlier in the west. Many cities were reduced to villages or totally abandoned; main roads were often routed to pass them by. The Turkish empire may be regarded as non-urban, and the question of continuity from the classical world to later times arises only in the case of such major centers as Constantinople, Damascus, or Alexandria. Certainly, even in such age-old centers, Turkish rule eliminated any tenuous memories of classical civic spirit or municipal institutions.[64]

Further north, Slavonic and Bulgarian invasions had ruined the cities of the Balkans, nor did the Turks, when they occupied this area, do anything to revive them.[65] Descriptions of the lowly state of Athens under Turkish rule, which lasted until the War of Greek Independence

[63] Professor Abu-Lughod (above, n. 1) criticized the treatment in this paper of the Islamic city. She emphasized elements of material continuity from the Byzantine city, such as buildings, in cities like Damascus. It is, however, the argument of this paper that such material survivals are not evidence for the survival of urban institutions or civic spirit. A change of inner character took place behind the façade of surviving externals.

[64] For survivals from the late Byzantine Empire into the Ottoman world see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) ch. VII: "The Byzantine Residue in Turkish Anatolia," pp. 444–497, which enlarges his earlier article, "The Byzantine Legacy etc." cited above in n. 60. He concludes that the residue was preserved chiefly by Christianity, which was reduced by triumphant Islam to a second-class religion of the lower, agricultural population. In consequence, what survived was a form of "folk culture." Even though the Turks initially adopted Byzantine administrative procedures and the like, they Islamized these and eliminated the former Byzantine upper classes and their high culture, except for the Phanariot class of Greek merchants, chiefly in Constantinople. Richard Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influence* (The L. A. Mayer Memorial Studies in Islamic Art and Archaeology III), Leiden, Brill, 1972, has not been seen but the notice indicates that it deals wholly with continuity of motifs in art, not with continuity of institutions. The adaptation of artistic motifs may well be a case of the use of traditional external forms to cloak a new approach to art.

[65] For the destruction of Balkan cities by the Slavs and Bulgars see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51), p. 7.

in the 1820's, are familiar. Beyond the Balkans, Byzantine influence penetrated deeply into Russia, particularly as respects religion and culture. But it does not appear that the emergence of towns in late mediaeval Russia owed anything to Byzantine precedents, even to that of Constantinople. By then, Constantinople had become such a unique city that it far outshone anything which the Russians could hope to achieve. It seems, therefore, that the impetus for the emergence of towns in Russia came from the west, as traders pushed commerce further east and in so doing developed market centers as they had earlier in northern Europe.

To sum up, the beginning of the decline of the classical city and city-state in the Roman Empire may be observed as early as the second century. The breakdown of central government and the barbarian and Persian raids of the mid-third century seriously weakened the cities both in the west and the east. Material prosperity returned when Diocletian and Constantine reunited the empire and reorganized its defenses. But the authoritarian government which they created to enforce the collection of taxes and the maintenance of supplies and of manpower which were necessary to ensure the continuance of unity and security meant the end of municipal self-government. After the *de facto* division of the empire on the death of Theodosius in 395, the imperial government of the western half grew rapidly weaker. It proved incapable of protecting its territories from barbarian occupation. In consequence the western cities and their institutions withered between the sixth and eighth centuries, during the European Dark Ages. In the east, the Byzantine emperors managed to ward off the Gothic invaders from across the Danube and to hold the Persians at bay along the frontiers of Asia Minor and Syria. Thus the Byzantine cities had a longer continuous existence and, at least initially, greater prosperity than did those in the west. This is not to say, however, that anything significant survived of the classical city and self-governing city-states under the autocratic Byzantine rule.

The eastern cities fell to invaders at different moments in different parts of the Byzantine Empire: from the seventh century in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, and also in the Balkans; gradually in Asia Minor during the following centuries as Seljuk and Ottoman Turks pushed further toward the west. Although the cities of Asia Minor did enjoy a slight revival of prosperity from the ninth century, this constituted only a pause in their decay. The Slavs and Bulgars largely destroyed cities in the Balkans. The Arabs and Seljuk Turks did preserve cities but imposed on them their own ways of life and

forms of government. The Ottoman Turks neglected or abandoned most of the cities in their territories.

The towns which emerged in Europe in the later Middle Ages gradually secured for themselves self-government and independent municipal institutions. According to the argument of the present paper, this revival owed almost nothing to classical survivals. In Russia, the establishment of towns appears to have been due to the activity of traders from the west, not to any Byzantine influence. Obviously the sites of many Greco-Roman cities, both in the west and in the east, have been occupied steadily down into modern times; some have maintained their status as capitals or important centers. In such cities populations may have been reduced in numbers during the early Middle Ages but were never wholly displaced by invaders; crafts and some trade continued; classical buildings still stood, and classical street plans might be respected; simple administrative functions went on; and pagan religious practices were taken over by Christianity or by Islam. A complete break with the past can be claimed only where there was a fairly thorough elimination of the inhabitants of the cities. Nevertheless, this paper has argued that so far as the cities are concerned, these elements of continuity were far less significant for the future than were the elements of change: change in religion, in ways of life, in institutions, in points of view, and even in populations. Thus the transition from the Greco-Roman world in the west through the Dark Ages to the emergence of mediaeval towns and in the east through the later Byzantine Empire to the triumph of Islam constituted for urban history a major, if not a complete, break.

Harvard University

EXISTIMATIO, FAMA, AND THE IDES OF MARCH

Zvi Yavetz

I

LIKE frustration, alienation, ecology, and charisma — the notions, "image," and "public opinion," have perhaps been too frequently used, if not abused. Public opinion is as old as political history, or, as Dicey put it: "There exists at any given time a body of beliefs, convictions, sentiments, accepted principles, or firmly rooted prejudices, which taken together make up the public opinion of a particular era or what we may call the reigning or predominating current opinion,"[1]

Machiavelli thought that a wise man should not ignore public opinion[2] and David Hume, using the term "opinion," wrote: "The Sultan of Egypt or the Emperor of Rome might drive his harmless subjects

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This paper was delivered as a James C. Loeb Classical Lecture at Harvard University on March 15, 1972.

[1] A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England* (London, 1920) 19. For another definition, see J. Schmoller: *Grundriss der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (7–10 Aufl. pt. I [1908]) 14: "Die öffentliche Meinung ist die Antwort der zunächst mehr passiv sich verhaltenden Teile der Gesellschaft auf die Wirkungsweise des aktiven Teiles." See also Pietro Chimienti, *La pubblica opinione nello stato moderno* (Annuario della Universita di Cagliari 1909); W. Bauer: *Die öffentliche Meinung in der Weltgeschichte* (Berlin 1929).

For additional modern works, see A. Palmer, "Concepts of Public Opinion in the History of Political Thought," unpubl. thesis, Harvard University 1933. For a summary treatment of the historical development of the concept, public opinion, see Harwood Childs, *Public Opinion* (New York, Van Nostrand, 1965) 26–38, with bibliography. J. Strayer, "The Historian's Concept of Public Opinion," in M. Komarovsky, ed, *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe Ill., Free Press 1957). L. Benson, "An Approach to the Scientific Study of the Past", *Public Opinion Quart.* 31 (1967) 522–567.

For public opinion in Eastern Europe, see Alex Inkeles, *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia* Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University Press 1950). I am indebted to Professor Z. Gitelman's lecture: "Public Opinion and the Political System in Eastern Europe," delivered in 1970 to the American Political Science Association.

[2] Machiavelli, *Discourses* (1950 ed.) 320.

like beasts, but he, at least, must lead his Mamelukes or praetorian
bands by their opinion."[3]

In traditional societies this opinion is formed according to the
guidance of the accepted military or religious leaders. Sudden deviation
from these principles or crimes against them will cause a crisis. Modern
sociologists believe that public opinion can become an active factor in
society when the authority of the traditional leadership is upset, when
new values (not sanctioned by tradition or religion) show up and when,
within the structure of a society, social and cultural cracks of disintegra-
tion appear. The late Roman Republic would fit such a framework.

When I wrote *Plebs and Princeps* I was aware of the problem, but
touched it only *en passant* in two footnotes: "This modern expression is
not found in classical sources but may perhaps be conveyed by *con-
sensus hominum* (Sen. *Polyb.* 6.1) or *fama* (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 40); and
indeed *fama* is not included in the index.[4] Under the Republic, *existi-
matio* is the relevant term.[5]

Christian Meier in his *Respublica amissa* is fully aware of the im-
portant role of public opinion and rightly stresses the fact (also in a
footnote) that "Im allgemeinen wird die Rolle der Existimatio unter-
schätzt."[6] He makes some short but very valuable remarks on *existi-
matio*[7] which is much more frequent in republican sources, especially
in Cicero's writings. I shall therefore deal with *existimatio* first.

Nations, cities, social groups, and institutions each have their own
reputation. Rome was no exception. Gradually her public image
became stereotyped, and her representatives were expected to act
accordingly. Cicero marched his army against Pindenissus because the
town harbored fugitives and looked forward to the coming of the
Parthians. To stop their audacity he considered of importance *ad
existimationem imperi* (Cic. *Fam.* XV.4.10). When Verres robbed a
young Syrian prince (one of King Antiochus's sons who happened to
come across Syracuse), he caused injury to the reputation and prestige
of Rome (*existimatio atque auctoritas nomini populi Romani imminuta*
(Cic. *Verr.* II.4.60). News spread around quickly among foreign

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[3] David Hume, *Essays* I, 100.

[4] Z. Yavetz: *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford, 1969) 109 n. 9; 134 n. 1.

[5] For *existimatio omnium*, see Cic. *Verr.* II.3.133; II.1.148; *existimatio
hominum, ibid.*: II.3.137; II.3.210; *existimatio civium* (Sen. *Ep.* 76.29); *existi-
matio Achaeorum* (Liv. 35.49.3). For the term *opinio publica* see Serv. *Comm. in
Verg.* VI, 136.

[6] Christian Meier, *Respublica amissa* (Wiesbaden 1966) 9 n. 15.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

nations and in Cicero's usual exaggerations: *usque ad ultimas terras pervagatum est (ibid.* II.4.64).

A sensational evening paper in our own days would probably have the following headline: "Rome's image severely damaged" and, as will be seen later, the term *existimationem lacerare, violare, perdere*, and so on, is often used in Latin as well.[8]

Cities can build up their reputation, and this is occasionally useful. When pirates set fire to a Roman fleet, an angry crowd demonstrated in front of Verres' house. But the crowd was restrained by remembering that the situation was critical and by having regard for the *existimatio* of Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* II.5.94).[9]

Not all cities had a good reputation. Alabanda was famous for its luxury (Strab. XIV.661), Abdera, proverbially a city of fools. The mathematician Licymnius said that the inhabitants of Tralles had the reputation for being stupid and by unsuitable disposition of statues they added a blemish to the city in public estimation: Vitr. VII.5.6: *Ita indecens inter locorum proprietates, status signorum publice civitati vitium existimationis adiecit.*

Social orders have their public image too, and the *existimatio* of the *ordo senatorius* or *ordo equester* is often at stake (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* I.42; II.1.5; II.2.117; II.2.28). The good name (*existimatio*) of the law courts can be lost or restored (Cic. *Verr.* I.2; II.1.22; II.4.113; *Div. Caec.* 48), and a group of people serving on a jury can be made well disposed by revealing to them what esteem (*existimatio*) they enjoy and with what interest their decision is awaited (*Rhet. Her.* I.5.8; cf. Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* I.22).[10] This paper, however, will be focused on *existimatio* of an individual.[11]

It seems (*prima facie*) as if the reputation of an individual is based upon merit, provided he acts and behaves according to the expectations of his peer group. The reputation (*existimatio*) for better or worse of a private citizen could be deeply affected by his behavior as a trustee, a guardian, or a partner (Cic. *QRosc.* 16; cf. *Quinct.* 53).[12] Nothing

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[8] For *existimatio populi Romani*, see also Cic. *Verr.* I.20; I.44. II.1.21. II.5.143.

[9] This passage (like many others) is quoted for the usage of language and not to establish the historical truth. Note also that in this context Cicero prefers the more neutral *multitudo* for crowd and refrains from the more derogatory *vulgus*; cf. Z. Yavetz, *Athenaeum* n.s. 63 (1965) 97.

[10] For *existimatio* of the Senate (see Tac. *Hist.* IV.7); of a jury Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 55.

[11] E.g. Cic. *Sest.* 113: *Iam de C. Fannio quae sit existimatio videmus.*

[12] On *fiducia, tutela, societas*, see J. Hellegouarch, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (Paris, 1963) *ad loc.*

could be more disgraceful than to be unable to help a friend (*nihil ad existimationem turpius*, Cic. *De Or.* II.200)[13] or to damage the reputation of one's friend (Cic. *Planc.* 6). A father's *existimatio* depended upon his care toward his son (Cic. *Att.* 14.16.4), and a business man like Atticus never wearied of an enterprise which he had once undertaken for the thought that his own *existimatio* was involved: *suam enim existimationem in ea re agi putabat.* (Nep. *Att.* 15.2). A man with an *existimatio* of *gravitas* is not expected to dance naked at a banquet (Cic. *Deiot.* 27),[14] and a lawyer may lose his reputation by accepting the defense of a notorious scoundrel (*existimationem amittere* Cic. *Verr.* II.2.192). If Cicero would defend Teucris (perhaps an agent of Antonius) he would lose *existimatio* among both—*populares* and *optimates* (here in the sense of public opinion, Cic. *Att.* I.12.1), but if he had kept quiet and not prosecuted Verres for his crimes, his own *existimatio* would have been in danger (Cic. *Verr.* I.27).

In a case in which *existimatio* of a man is in danger (*quod videtur ad summam illius existimationem hoc iudicium pertinere*) (Cic. *Caecin.* 6.), decisions should not be taken in a hurry (*Quia existimationis periculum est tardissime iudicatur*) (*ibid.* 7, 9) because such a verdict could ruin one's life. Some individuals, of course, couldn't care less— but those who disregard *existimatio* (their own reputation, as well as public opinion) are in the same category with those who consider an oath as a joke and a testimony as a game (*Cic. Flac.* 12; cf. *Clu.* 39; *Rhet. Her.* IV.13.19; In *Pis.* 65; *Verr.* II.4.102; II.1.87: *Te hominum existimatio non movebat.*)[15]

This being so in private life, a public figure had even more to submit to the judgment of the public not only statements or speeches made openly (Pliny *Ep.* II.5.3) but also his daily behavior.

Little was demanded and expected from lower clerks and magistrates. Loyalty toward their superiors and decency in performing their duties were, of course, essential. The *existimatio* of P. Terentius Hispo, deputy manager of a company which collected grazing dues (*scriptura*), mainly depended upon his settling of contracts with the rest of the states (Cic. *Fam.* 13.65.1).[16] In order to earn a reputation

[13] Or to defeat a friend in court, especially when his *existimatio* is at stake. (*Att.* I.1.4).

[14] Cf. Lucil. I.33 (Warmington), who, like a fool, went among the low debauchees to dance.

[15] For similar expressions see Cic. *Verr.* II.3.210; II.4.54; *Phil.* II.9.

[16] On the *existimatio* of Philodamus of Lampsacus, Cic. *Verr.* II.1.64; on Amyntas of Apollonis, Cic. *Flac.* 72; on Cluentius Habitus of Larinum, *Clu.* 11; cf. the *existimatio* of Fonteius' family, *Font.* 41.

(*existimatio*) in the eyes of all the citizens in a city or province, like Sthenius in the eyes of all Sicilians (Cic. *Verr.* II.2.111), this was not enough. Birth (*genus*), official position (*honos*), and wealth (*copiae*) played an important role.

Existimatio as reputation or public opinion is generally of neutral connotation from a moral point of view. The *existimatio* can be *bona* (as in most cases) or *turpis* (e.g. Cic. *Caecin.* 8), but expressions like these have no absolute value. The author of the statement and the peer group should always be kept in mind. *Boni* and *Mali* in the late Republic had their own views about good and bad.

From a social and political point of view, *existimatio cuiusque* is best translated as one's standing in society; that is, a man must have reached a certain status or rank to be worthy of *existimatio*. There were people with no standing at all in political life, but they do not concern us here.

It is true that to a certain extent wealth and *existimatio* are intimately related (Suet. *Nero* 12); and this is precisely what Cicero had to say about Murena and his province: *L. Murenae provincia multas bonas gratias cum optima existimatione attulit* (*Mur.* 42). On the other hand, Maeandrius (to whom the people of Tralles entrusted their case) was an individual of low caste, without distinction. He was poverty-stricken, without property—and of course without *existimatio*: *Homo egens, sordidus, sine honore sine censu sine existimatione* (Cic. *Flac.* 52).

When Cicero wanted to discredit Aselepiades as a witness, he depicted him as a low-lived person: *Fortuna egens, vita turpis, existimatione damnatus* (*Flac.* 35). Yet more idealistic statements may be found: *existimatio* may remain "*integra*" even if one is deprived of money (Cic. *Quinct.* 49). *Bona existimatio divitiis praestat*, says the moralist (Cic. *De Or.* II.172), and Agesilaus is praised because "*opulentissimo regno praeposuit bonam existimationem* (Nep. *Ages.* 4.3). A good man should think very little of money but consider his reputation to be most sacred: *Pecunia levissima—existimatio sanctissima* (Cic. *QRosc.* 15).[17]

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[17] A more balanced statement, which is probably Cicero's own view, is to be found in *Inven. Rhet.* II.157: *existimatio* holds a middle position between virtue and profit. People are attracted by virtue, knowledge, and truth, by their intrinsic merit—and by their own worth. Profit and advantage (*fructus et utilitas*) are derived from money. But there is something which unites qualities from both these classes: by its own merit and worth it entices us and leads us on, and also holds out to us a prospect of some advantage to induce us to seek it more eagerly. Examples are friendship (*amicitia*) and *existimatio bona* (*reputation*).

To sum up: in Roman daily political life, origin and wealth were very important components of *existimatio*, but not the only ones.

II

In our own day, when mass media prevail, an image-conscious leader will develop a sophisticated network of public relations. Gifted public-relations men are essential in a modern election campaign, and good advisers are well paid. The author of the *Commentariolum Petitionis*[18] did not do it for money. His main advice was basic and elementary.

The main problem is not the candidate's personality. It is how he is thought of by others. It is not enough to be a good man, it is essential to appear like one. This is what Cicero had in mind when he advised his brother "how to win friends and influence people," using innumerable times the term *videri* (e.g. *QFr.* I.1.10; I.1.46, etc.).

Loyalty of (influential) friends is important but the feelings of (common) people should not be underestimated (16). As far as *voluntas popularis* is concerned, tribesmen, neighbors, clients, freedmen, and even slaves should not be neglected, for nearly all the talk which forms one's public reputation emanates from domestic sources. This is how the *fama forensis* (17) is formed, and a series of practical suggestions as to the behavior of the candidate follows:

A man who wants to attach people to himself should remember their proper names (28), pay them constant attention, show his liberality toward them, and behave tactfully (41–42). If nature had denied the candidate a certain quality, he should make up his mind to assume it so as to appear to be acting naturally. Clear distinction is made between a good man, *bonus vir*, and a good candidate, *bonus petitor* (45).

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[18] Against authenticity: M. I. Henderson, "*De Commentariolo Petitionis*," *JRS* 40 (1950) 8; R. G. M. Nisbet, "The *Commentariolum Petitionis*," *JRS* 51 (1961) 84, thinks that it is too cynical to have been published during an election campaign, see esp. §§5, 19, 35, 42, 45–47, 52. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, "*The Commentariolum Petitionis*," *CQ* 56 (1963) 292. See, however, R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 11 n. 5: The pamphlet reveals much of the truth about Cicero's candidature, though it is not necessarily written by Q. Cicero. Cf. *JRS* 37 (1947) 200; Chr. Meier: *Res publica amissa* (Wiesbaden 1966) passim. And recently, John S. Richardson, *The Commentariolum Petitionis*, *Historia* 20 (1971) 436. R.E.A. Palmer, Tre lettere in cerca di storico, *Riv. di fil. Class* 99 (1971) 385

Flattery may be a discreditable fault in other transactions of life, but it is necessary during a candidateship. One should be accessible to all by day and by night (44) and not only by the doors of one's house, but in one's expression — which is the door of the mind (*vultu ac fronte quae est animi ianua*). It is not enough to make promises (although without them no candidaey could get started); they must be made in a liberal and complimentary manner[19] because people are more taken by looks and words than by aetual serviees.[20]

Many years later Seneca put it neatly: *Idem est quod datur — sed interest quomodo detur* (Sen. *Ben.* 2.6.1–2). The thing that is given may be just the same. The manner of the giving is all-important.[21] Indeed, all candidates distributed largesse, but the plebs preferred one bestower of largesse to another, and it was the *quomodo* that played an important role in winning the *fama popularis* (49). Observations which people make in one's favor will eventually spread around (50), and the candidate has a chance only when his activities are talked about and reach the people. A candidate has a house full of callers long before daybreak. They belong to every class, and it is his duty to give satisfaction to all— by looks and speeches, hard work, skill, and attention. In short, a lot of make-believe and window-dressing, humbug, and hypocrisy. Knowledge of the particulars of one's audience was a necessary condition for persuasion, or as Brunt once aptly put it, "men do not appeal to standards that no one observes, and hypocrisy serves no purpose where virtue is not to be found."[22]

Three problems are worthwhile discussing:

(a) The Latin usage of *existimatio*.
(b) How ideas were communicated in an era without newspapers, radio, and television.
(c) Was public opinion taken into account in political decision-making in the late Republic?

III

A Roman governor or magistrate considered his *existimatio* to be above all else, and Cicero, once asking Q. Marcius Philippus—a

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[19] *Homines enim non modo promitti sibi, praesertim quod de candidato petant, sed etiam large et honorifice promitti volunt* (*Com. Pet.* 44).

[20] *Sic homines fronte et oratione magis quam ipso beneficio capiuntur* (*Com. Pet.* 46).

[21] Z. Yavetz: *Plebs and Princeps* 101ff; cf. p. 43. Isoc. IV. 130, VIII.72

[22] P. A. Brunt: "*Amicitia* in the Late Roman Republic," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 191, n.s. XI (1965) 19.

governor of Asia — to do him a favor, stressed that this should be done unless it involved an outrage upon Philippus' reputation *"nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam"* (Cic. *Fam.* XIII.73.2).

From this point of view Verres was no exception, at least during the first stages of his governorship (*Div. Caec.* 57). At a meeting of revenue contractors, a resolution was passed that all records damaging the reputation (*existimatio*) of C. Verres should be expunged (*Verr.* II.2.173).[23]

The reputation (*existimatio*) of a magistrate or of a provincial governor depended not only upon his own (good or bad) behavior — (Suet. *Vit.* 5) but also upon the behavior of his staff (Cic. *Verr.* II.2.28; II.2.58). This is why Cicero advises his brother not to entrust a fraction of his reputation to a suspicious subordinate (*nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris*) (*QFr.* I.1.14), and when he himself wants to praise his own staff (on his journey to Greece) he emphasizes that they did everything to maintain his good name: *Plane serviunt existimationi meae* (*Att.* V.11.5, cf. *Quinct.* 66).

This leads us to the conclusion that *existimatio* is based not only and not always upon actual merit. A man can acquire his reputation wrongly (*falso venire in eam existimationem*; Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* II.37), and in 59 B.C. Cicero is saddened when he hears of the high reputation (*existimatio*) of the governors of Sicily and Macedonia (Vergilius and C. Octavius). True, they did not excel his beloved brother Quintus (then Governor of Asia) in purity of conduct, but they surpassed him in the art of winning friends — *vincunt tamen artificio benevolentiae colligendae* (*QFr.* I.2.7).

In our own day an image of a public figure can be built up or destroyed by the mass media and public relations. Propaganda means in antiquity were basically similar, only less sophisticated.[24] There were always poets and writers who were able to enhance the reputation of their hero. Not in vain did Alexander envy Achilles, who found in Homer the herald of his valor (Cic. *Arch Poet.* 24). *O Fortunate, inquit adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!*

Some leaders employed court historians. Others wrote their memoirs themselves, but common people hardly read history books or political pamphlets.[25] The influence of such writings was indirect. Their content must have been spread by literate people, and it is for this

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[23] For other examples about Verres's eagerness to keep up his image (*existimatio*), see *Verr.* II.3.137; 139; 140; 154.

[24] I dealt with the problem in *Plebs and Princeps.* 132ff and will not discuss these points here.

[25] M. Gelzer. *Kl. Schiften.* II.312.

reason that the value of written propaganda has been recognized by modern scholars. The hostile writings of Tanusius Geminus (Plut. *Caes.* 22; Suet. *Jul.* 9.2), Marcus Actorius Naso (Suet. *Jul.* 9.3; 52.1) and Titus Ampius (Suet. *Jul.* 77) did harm to Caesar. Brutus attacked Pompey's dictatorship in a pamphlet (Quint. *Inst.* IX.3.95), and Metellus Scipio slandered Cato's activities in Cyprus (Plin. *NH*, 8.196. Sen. *Controv.* X.1.8).[26] It seems that Caesar used the latter's material in his *Anticato.* The limited impact of poems with political allusions (Catull., 29, 54, 93) is not to be denied, but short and vulgar songs by soldiers and civilians (*vulgus*) (Suet. *Jul.* 49; 80) had far more influence on the masses. Malicious allusions in the theater — e.g. *Miseria nostra magnus est* (*Att.* 2.19.3; Val. Max. 6.2.9)[27] and witty but short inscriptions (Suet. *Jul.* 80.2–3) had a far stronger impact than speeches which were never delivered but only published (like Cicero's *Pro Milone* or the second *Philippic*). It is for this reason that other than written propaganda will be dwelt upon in the following pages.

The role of influential friends was decisive, and a man who was without them was *inops et ab amicis et existimatione* (Cic. *Att.* I.1.2.). It was therefore possible to place one's reputation in the hands of other people (*existimationem committere*, Quinct. 98). Cicero is not only voting for the *supplicatio* in honor of P. Sulpicius Rufus; he also promises that on no occasion in the future will he fail to support his interests' *dignitas* and *existimatio* (*Fam.* XIII.77.1). This is precisely what Cicero would expect from Marcellus on behalf of himself (*Fam.* XV.10.2), and to L. Aemilius Paulus (cos. 50) he says explicitly: "I should be glad if you would undertake to look after all my other interests, and most especially my reputation:" *maximeque existimationis meae procurationem susceptam velim* (*Fam.* XV.13.3).

In short, one's *existimatio* depended for better or for worse mainly upon what other people were doing and especially saying about him, and Cicero once assured Caelius that he had never done or said a single thing with the intention of disparaging the reputation of Appius Claudius Pulcher, his predecessor in Cilicia: "*Nihil lautem feci umquam neque dixi, quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem*" (*Fam.* II.13.2, cf. *Fam.* V.20.1).

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[26] L. Piotrowicz, "De Q. Caecilii Metelli Pii Scipionis in M. Porcium Uticensem invectiva," *Eos* 18 (1912) 129; F. Roger Dunkle, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 155.

[27] On crowd reactions and circuses and theaters, see Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 18–24. I was not aware of Traugott Bollinger, *Theatralis Licentia* (Winterthur, 1969).

Words can do a lot of damage to one's public image (*existimationem violare* (*Quinct.* 73), and bad tongues could easily scoff at the reputation even of an excellent man (*illudere viri optimi existimationi*, *QRosc.* 39). Examples can be found in abundance.

When it was intended to besmirch Catilina, it was said that he compelled the participants in a *contio domestica* to take an oath, and passed around bowls of human blood mixed with wine. Even Sallust (*Cat.* XXII.2–3) admits that details of that kind might have been invented by men who believed that the hostility which afterward arose against Cicero would be moderated by exaggerating the guilt of the conspirators whom he put to death. Sallust had no evidence to prove the point, but there is no doubt that these kinds of rumors severely damaged Catilina's reputation.

On another occasion, two respectable senators, Quintus Catulus and C. Piso, had vainly tried to induce Cicero by entreaties, influence, and bribery to have a false accusation brought against Caesar. They could not persuade the Consul and therefore took the matter into their own hands. They circulated falsehoods which they pretended to have heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges and stirred up hostility to Caesar (Sall. *Cat.* 49): *ipsi singillatim circumeundo atque ementiundo.*[28]

For this reason Roman politicians expended considerable effort in order to make people speak favorably of them and even organized the dissemination of rumors in order to enhance their reputations. Once rumor spread that Cicero stood in the way of a deputation which was about to go to Rome in order to eulogize the former governor of Cicilia, Appius Claudius Pulcher. The latter expressed immediately his suspicions concerning Cicero's loyalty toward him, and Cicero was quick to promise that he was by no means going to assail Appius's reputation in the province (*existimationem oppugnare*, *Fam.* III.10.8).

A good public-relations agent in our own day would organize a series of publications in newspapers and magazines, arrange interviews on television for his employer. The younger Cicero once asked Tiro to fulfil his promise and become with unshaken confidence the trumpeter of his reputation: *te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae* (*Fam.* XVI.21.2).

One had to work hard in order to become the subject of good news. In this respect the commoners were quite skeptical and were not satisfied with mere rumors. In order to become popular one had to

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[28] For rumors spread against Crassus, see Sall. *Cat.* 48.

prove oneself not only in words but in deeds.[29] It was much easier to denounce and degrade a public figure, and the Romans did it with much relish. Many vicious and stinging witticisms were tossed about in the capital.[30] And Horace rightly spoke of *Italum accetum* (*Sat.* I.7.32). Not in vain does satire pass for one of the original contributions of Rome to culture (Quint. *Inst.* X.1.93); Roman jokes were for the most part coarse and vulgar, and they were aimed especially at people's physical defects.[31]

Lucilius coined the term *concelebrare* — which means to spread report or *diffamare*, and he spoke of situations in which the folk split their sides with laughter (Lucil. 1121–1122 W). And we know that Cicero made himself hateful to the *nobilitas* to no small extent because of his unrestrained tongue, and his conduct bears out Quintilian's fears that a Roman would rather lose a friend than a jest — *potius amicum quam dictum perdendi* (Quint. *Inst.* VI.3.28.cf. Sen. *Controv.* II.4.13). People were afraid of dismal sayings at least as much as of dire doings (*ibid.* 1084 W), and Lucilius used the verb *exultare*, which meant to do harm by physical act or words: *gestu vel dictu iniuriam facere*.

Vicious remarks made in public and then spread could do great harm to one's reputation (*existimationem offendere*, *Fam.* III.8.7).[32] People could be torn to pieces by gossip (Caecilius 149 W), but gossiping was almost a national sport in Rome (Cic. *Att.* VI.1.25). It was enough to send a series of letters to a few good friends in Rome (Macr. *Sat.* II.7.3.) in no time the story was out and had become common property (*audita res erat et pervulgata*) (Cic. *ad Brut.* II.4.5). The *subrostrani* did their job quickly and efficiently (*Fam.* VIII.1.5). They carried the news to the Solarium (*Quinct.* 59; *Rhet. Her.* VI.14), to the public baths, and the barber shops (Polyb. III.20.5; Hor. *Sat.* I.7.2). There were other means too. An influential patron had to be induced to express his opinion or disclose some news (not necessarily based on facts) to his clients, freedmen, and even slaves (Sen. *Controv.* V.2.1: *Tot servi sequuntur, ut quidquid dixerit rumor sit*).

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[29] Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 137. On propaganda and public opinion from 58 to 53 B.C., see especially L. R. Taylor: *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley, Calif. 1949) esp. 142ff. J. H. Collins, "Propaganda, Ethics, and Psychological Assumptions in Caesar's Writings," Frankfurt 1952 (unpubl.).

[30] Cic. *Cael.* 16, 38.

[31] U. E. Paoli: *Rome: Its People, Life and Customs* (Firenze 1958; Eng. trans., 1963, p. 267ff).

[32] Though such is not the case in this passage. For Cicero's wit see Macr *Sat* II (1–15).

And rumors, especially defamations, spread like fire. And only when the wave of rumors reached its crest did senators resort to the most devastating expedient. They repeated the gossip in public and denied it on the spot. Only then was the real damage caused (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.96; 98). In the last part of our discussion, an actual example of this practice will be given.

When the news about Germanicus' death reached Rome, the *vulgus* spread the news like lightning, and before the magistrate could issue an order or the senate a decree, the people stopped all work, forsook the law courts, and shut their homes (Tac. *Ann.* 2.82).

This is how *existimatio vulgi* was formed, and no political leader could underestimate it (Caes. *BGall.* I.20.3; cf. II.1.87; II.4.102). It was extremely powerful, and once a popular opinion was formed it was hard to evade (Sen. *Controv.* II.7.(15)9). Prudent rulers had to be careful for "*falsae imagines rerum insanos agitant*" (Sen. *Tranq.* 12.5). Philosophers could ignore gossip of the foolish (Sen. *Ben.* IV.21.5). Active politicians could not (Qfr. II.15B.2).

Political leaders who contested for *favor populi* were characterized by their opponents as endowed with *levitas popularis*. This was discussed at some length elsewhere and does not need further elaboration.[33] Suffice it to say that consideration paid to *existimatio omnium* is not a bad thing if judged by its consequences. People holding positions had to live up to expectations. And a political figure is never freed of anxiety for his reputation (*liberatus existimationis metu—Verr.* II.5.175).[34]

Each one is sensitive to manifestations of feelings in the forum, in the theater, around the *rostra*. Few were indifferent to applause in public, and Cicero was happy when he could say, *Maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus sum* (*ad Brut.* I.3.2).[35] People had to compromise with custom and public opinion (*consuetudo et fama*) (Cic. *Tusc.* I.109) and act accordingly.

In Rome no honorable man wanted to put a citizen to death. He preferred to be remembered as one who had spared when he could have destroyed. Cicero assures us that this is done for the sake of public

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[33] Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 51–53, 64, 98–100, 105.

[34] When the younger Pliny was censured for having written licentious verses and for having read them in public, he said: *Nec vero moleste fero hanc esse de moribus meis existimationem* (*Ep.* 5.3.3). He was happy that people expected better things of him.

[35] Cf. *QFr.* II.15B.2.

opinion and the common feeling of humanity — "*hominum existi-mationis et humanitatis causa*" (*Quinct.* 51).

A Roman magistrate in a province would not dare to assail a Roman citizen. He would restrain his behavior for fear of public opinion (*Verr.* II.5.167). A young lawyer like Cicero could keep his previous public image among his supporters only when he could prove to his countrymen that in the Verres case he had done his duty to the best of his power (*Div. Caec.* 72, cf. *Verr.* I.27).

An influential patron is expected to do his utmost for his client. When Erucius is standing for office on Pliny's nomination, Pliny's *existimatio* is at stake (*Ep.* II.9.1). Substantial, not nominal, help was required.

A man could be convicted by public opinion before being expressly convicted by a court (*Clu.* 56), and judges could find it difficult to acquit a man condemned by *existimatio omnium* (*Rhet. Her.* IV.14.20, cf. *Verr.* II.3.146). People may fear a verdict (*metus*); but, as far as *existimatio* is concerned, one should rather think in terms of *pudor existimationis* (*Verr.* II.2.40).[36]

A little story may illustrate the point: In a fierce battle, two illustrious Roman centurions, Titus Pullo and Lucius Vorenus, found themselves dislodged with volleys of stones from all directions. Their tower was set on fire, and none of them dared to move. Both were competing for promotion; therefore Pullo suddenly remarked: "Come on, Vorenus, what are you waiting for? We'll finish the argument today!" He immediately left the shelter of the rampart and made a dash for the thickest point he could find in the enemy ranks. Vorenus, of course, was after him in a moment. His reputation was publicly challenged: *Omnium veritus existimationem* — *subsequitur* (Caes. *BGall.* 5.44).

A famous man's image (*omnium existimatione ornatissimus*) once destroyed in public (e.g. *Verr.* II.2.102) could not live with his *existimatio lacerata* (Suet. *Jul.* 75), or *existimatio laesa* (Suet. *Tib.* 58).

IV

I do not know what the results would have been if this present study had been rewritten with the concept of *fama* replacing that of *existimatio*. This is not an impossible undertaking. We could easily speak of the *fama* of nations, cities, social groups, and institutions — e.g. *fama populi* Romani (Cic. *Arch.* 23); or *fama nominis Romani* (Liv.

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[36] Cf. *Deum me sancit facere pietas, civium porcet pudor* (Ennius *Trag.* 338 W).

38.58.5); of Athens Luc. *Phar.* 5.52); cf. Sen. *Controv.* X.5.13: One man's misdeed cannot corrupt the reputation of a city — *Numquam unius malefacto, publica fama corrumpitur*; of a country (e.g. Arabia, Pliny *N.H.* XII 56); of an island (Tenedos — Verg. *Aen.* II.21, or Cyprus Flor. III.9.3); of an army (Tac. *Hist.* I.30 *magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama*); of a legion (Tac. *Hist.* III.1); of a genus (*fama generis-* Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* I.19); or of a tribe (Tac. *Germ.* 37).

Examples of the *fama* of individuals (especially of military leaders) are innumerable. Would it be correct to assume that *fama* is mainly based on rumor and hearsay and not on real merit?

The Macedonian kingdom rested on reputation and not on strength — *fama stetisse non viribus Macedoniae regnum* (Liv. 33.8.5). The Gauls had a great reputation among the Greeks which was not justified either (Liv. 38.17.19). Such a principle would not work, because it was possible (as we have seen) *falso venire in existimationem* (p. 42 above), and in Frontinus (*Strat.* I.1.10) an *existimatio* is formed on the basis of false rumors.[37]

It is therefore tempting to find another specific and clearcut interpretation for *fama* and *existimatio*. Hellegouarch has tried it,[38] and although he admitted that "fama se présente comme un terme très proche d'existimatio," he suggests that "*existimatio* désigne la réputation qui résulte d'un jugement personnel fondé sur l'opinion que *l'on a d'un individu*." *Fama*, on the other hand, "implique une opinion collective provoquée .par les actions importantes, éclatantes."

A quick look at the usage of this term in the sources will show that Hellegouarch's definition is true only to a certain extent. In 51 B.C. Caelius writes to Cicero about the consular elections: *De comitiis consularibus incertissima est existimatio* (*Fam.* VIII.2.2). The definition does not fit. "*Fama*," Hellegouarch continued, "révèle une plus nette tendence à se colorer d'une nuance politique" (p. 365), whereas *existimatio* is "un terme très vague et peu specialisé dans le vocabulaire politique." This statement is also true only to a certain extent. *Fama* is at least as vague as *existimatio* and is used not only in a political context. One can speak in Latin about *fama* of a statue (Pliny *N.H.* 34.83; 7.34); of a ship (Liv. 35.26.5; Val. Max. 4.6. Ext. 3); of a poem (Tac. *Ann.* 15.49); of a day (Luc. *Phars.* X.533); of a wine

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[37] See also Cic. *Verr.* II.3.190: *In hoc genere facilior est existimatio quam reprehensio*—in the sense: It is easier to form one's opinion (δόξα) than to make out a case for blame based on solid facts.

[38] J. Hellegouarch, *Le Vocabulaire Latin* 365.

(Pliny *N.H.* 14.72); of a river (Ovid. *Am.* 3.6.90); and of a temple (Liv. 29.18.3).

These remarks are made not to belittle the general value of Helle-gouarch's important dictionary. I would like only to draw attention to the fact that rigid definitions, as far as Roman political terminology is concerned, do not always work. Ancient historians were not as careful as modern philologists and jurists in using political terms. They tried to avoid frequent repetition of the same word and occasion-ally used *fama* and *existimatio* as synonyms. A few examples will suffice:

Tac. *Hist.* IV.6: *Suffragia et existimationem senatus reperta ut cuiusque vitam famamque penetrarent.*

Pliny *Pan.* 62.9: *Persta Caesar, in ista ratione propositi, talesque nos crede qualis fama cuiusque est. Huic aures, huic oculos, intente! ne respexeris clandestinas existimationes.*[39]

A word will be said later about the different uses of *existimatio* in different historical periods. This is only to show that the two terms could be used interchangeably. When Cicero accused the judges in Clodius's trial, he was tempted to use a witty play on words: *fames magis quam fama commoverit* (*Att.* I.16.5). He could just as easily have used *existimatio.*

It is true that when Cicero is trying to undermine the credibility of the witness, Indutiomarus, in the Fonteius trial, he says (*Font.* 29): *Verebatur (Indutiomarus) enim videlicet, ne quod apud vos populumque Romanum de existimatione sua deperderet, ne qua fama consequetur eius . modi . . .* (For he was afraid lest he should forfeit some of his reputation in your eyes [the judges] and those of the Roman people, afraid of the tale going round).

It might seem at first glance that there is still a difference between *fama* and *existimatio. Fama* is much more vague — based on rumors and hearsay — while *existimatio* is clearly one's good name or reputation among a certain group of people. But this definition also fails to bring us very far. In *Verr.* I.17, *fama* is simply interchangeable with *existimatio: Eaedemque vestrae famae fortunisque omnium insidiae per eosdem homines comparantur.* The same insidious attacks are being organized by the same agents upon your good name . . . and upon the well-being of the community at large. The same is true when Verres is accused of having defiled the fair name of the Roman government in

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[39] For *existimatio* in the plural, see also Cic. *QFr.* I.1.43; cf. also *clandestina existimatio* with *tacita existimatio*, in Cic. *Font.* 28.

the eyes of all foreign nations: *cum apud exteras nationes imperii Romin-*
isque nostri famam, tuis probris flagitiisque violaris. We have seen above
that Cicero also speaks of *existimatio imperi* (*Fam.* XI.4.10), but there
seems to be little difference between this *existimatio* and the *fama* in
Liv. 24.19.7.

The *loci classici* for interchangeability would be *Verr.* II.2.28:
(a) *Pertinet hoc ad summam rempublicam et existimationem ordinis*
salutemque sociorum. (b) *Primum omnium opera danda est ut eos nobiscum*
educamus qui nostae famae capitique consultant. And in a letter (*Fam.*
XIII.73.2): . . . *Nisi quid existimas in ea re violari* existimationem *tuam.*
Quod ego si arbitrer numquam te rogarem mihique tua fama *multo anti-*
quior esset, quam illa necessitudo est.[40]

The interchangeability of *fama* and *existimatio* can also be proved
by the similar usage of verbs in connection with the two nouns:

Famam defendere (*Quinct.* 8; *QRosc.* 15; *Verr.* II.1.76); but also
existimationem defendere (Caes. *BCiv.* I.7.7, Cic. *Fam.* III.10.8).

Famam conservare (*QRosc.* 25. *Div. Caec.* 71) or *famam tueri* (Att.
XI.2.1. Fam. XII.22.2, XIII.5.1); but also *existimationem tueri* (Caes.
BCiv. III.1.3). The Thesaurus teaches us that the same is correct for
violare or *perdere, amittere* or *lacerare.*[41]

All this leads us to an unimaginative but perhaps the only reasonable
solution: the context determines the sense, and no other principle is
valid.

                                    V

There is, however, an historical question of greater interest. Why
does *existimatio* appear so rarely in pre-Ciceronian Latin.[42] One
answer is obvious. The literary genre (rhetoric) is the typical medium
for *existimatio.* Hence we find very little before Cicero, and had there
been more speeches left, we would have known more. People were of
course aware of the idea. The term was not used. Ennius, in his
Annals, knew that kings throughout their kingship were in quest of
statues and sepulchres and that they built up a name — *aedificant nomen*
(W.393–394) — but did not speak of *existimatio.* It is possible that people
become conscious of *existimatio* only after a rift between the upper

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[40] The use of the *fama* and *existimatio* in *Div. Caec.* 71–72 is also very instruc-
tive.

[41] Cf. Hellegouarch, *Le Vocabulaire Latin* 363.

[42] E.g. Ter. *Heaut.* 25: *vostra existumatio valebit.*, see following paragraph
for Malcovati *ORF* 188.

classes occurs, and the antagonists are obliged to appeal to the masses in order to strengthen their followings. In their search for supporters political leaders try to become as popular as possible; they will not hesitate to appear differently from what they really are.

This was known to Lucilius. Describing a busy day in the forum with senators and common people around, he tells of some individuals who pretend that they are good men (*bonum simulare virum se*, Lucil. 1145–1151 W). Days have come in which it was impossible to sin unpunished and repulse one's enemies just by virtue of high birth (Lucil. 270 W), and indeed from the Gracchi onward *optimates* and *populares* alike had to make efforts to endear themselves to the people.[43]

It is no accident that *existimatio* appears in a fragment of C. Grachus's speech: *verum peto a vobis non pecuniam sed bonam existimationem* (Gell. *NA* XI.10 [3–4] — Malcovati *ORF* 188). A man cannot be indifferent to what is said about him in public. In a convincing way Cicero is asking his brother Quintus to rouse himself in all earnestness to win golden opinions in all quarters, to direct his whole mind, every care and thought, into an over-riding desire to be well spoken of in every respect (Cic. *QFr.* I.1.3). In this passage Cicero speaks of *laus*, which is very close to *existimatio* and *fama* and is used in the same context in Lucilius (e.g. 94 W; 713 W).[44] In Cicero, too, the idea is sometimes circumscribed (e.g. *QFr.* II.4.6, III.1.24), but very often *existimatio* is used. Was it really Cicero who coined the expression? Did he not mean that people with a decent image are those *de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet* (*ad. Brut.* I.16.1)? Why did he speak of *existimatio* in one breath with *dignitas* and *auctoritas* (*QFr.* I.3.6)? One should not be surprised at such phenomena during a period in which ambitious politicians were fighting each other, as depicted in the famous lines of Lucretius.[45]

Of course in order to achieve stature in position, something impressive had to be done. If, for example, Scribonius Curio could effect a reconciliation between Caesar and Pompey thereby achieving a cessation of hostilities, he could get himself a name, because a great part of the credit would go to him *cuius rei magnam partem laudis atque existimationis ad Libonem perventuram* (Caesar *BCiv.* I.26.4). But such

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[43] Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 38ff.
[44] For Lucilius usage of *fama* see 1009 W.
[45] Lucr. *De rer. nat.* II.11–13:

> certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
> noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
> ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri.

occasions were rare. Young, ambitious men found other ways to get names for themselves. There were two obvious ways to reach the limelight: a successful election campaign, or criminal prosecution motivated by political purposes. There is no need to elaborate on these two points — they are clear enough.

A candidate's *existimatio* depended upon the results of his election campaign (*Planc.* 79), and since the competition for magistracies grew fiercer in the late Republic it is little wonder that *existimatio* became more frequent in Roman writings. Every trial involved to a certain extent a man's reputation (Clu. 120) A favourable verdict enabled the defendant to carry away with him from the court a good reputation (*existimationem . . . ex hoc efferre, Quinct.* 99).

Publicity comes to a man not only when he is successful; the main thing is to remain in the "news". Cato the Elder, although often attacked, suffered no loss of reputation (*nullum detrimentum existimationis*), but as long as he lived the fame of his virtues increased (Nep. *Cato,* 2.4).

For lawyers the law courts were a paradise. In the old days the younger Scipio was believed by everybody[46] to be a quiet and indolent man, with none of the energetic characteristics of a Roman, because he did not speak in the law courts. Cicero's full appreciation of the value of *existimatio* may be due to his legal activities. In 59 B.C. he wrote to *Atticus* (II.22.3): Politics I am not touching at all, but am busily engàged in the law courts and in my own forensic work and thereby I find I win extraordinary favor not only with those who enjoy my services, but with the people in general too: *quod egregie non modo iis, qui utuntur opera, sed etiam in vulgus gratum esse sentimus.* And, he continues: "my house is thronged with folk; processions meet me; the days of my consulship are recalled, friendships are not disguised, and my hopes are so raised that I often think there is no reason for me to shrink from the struggle which threatens."[47] Moreover, just as he hoped to enhance his own reputation by winning the trial in which he appeared, he was interested in destroying the image of his opponents, especially of their witnesses. The method was *improbatio*

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[46] Polybius' circumscription of *existimatio* is: δοκῶ γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσιν ἡσύχιος τις καὶ νωθρός XXXI. 23.11). Some Greek terms for *fama* or *existimatio* are δόξα; φήμη; ὄνομα; εὐδοξία; εὐδοκίμησις. The best translation is probably: ἀξίωμα. To be in good reputation: εὐδοκέω; εὐδοκιμέω; τιμάομαι; Bad reputation is δύσκλεια

[47] For full details see M. Gelzer, "Die Nobilität der römischen Republik." *Kl. Schr.* I, 80–86 (Wiesbaden 1962). Cf. Erich S. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1968) 149–178.

testium, and Cicero was an unbeaten master at defaming people in court.

There seems, however, to be a deeper cause for Cicero's image consciousness. He was a *homo novus*. And, like his two great predecessors, Cato and Marius, he could not just rely on the images of his forefathers. He had to build up his own name, and he missed no opportunity to make known his own great qualities. *Industria, frugalitas, pudor, modestia, probitas*:[48] Cicero was well aware of the fact that new men were hated and despised by the nobles. He expressed it eloquently: "When men have risen from the ranks, you resent their industry, you scorn their honesty, you laugh at their sense of decency, you seek to thwart and suppress their abilities and their virtues." (*Verr.* II.3.7). This is precisely why Cicero was constantly on guard, sensitive to every remark and every nod of the head in his direction. As he once wrote to his brother: "The interests and safety of all those of us who take part in public affairs depend not on truth alone, but also on all the talk about us" (*fama niteretur*). (*QFr.* I.2.2).

He was aware that he could not make allowances for himself as did men of noble birth: "I have not the same privileges as men of noble birth, *quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.* The present conditions of political life oblige me to behave far otherwise" (*Verr.* II.5.180). And hence this emphatic conclusion: "We are aware with what jealousy, with what dislike, the merit and energy of new men are regarded by certain of the nobles. That we have only to shut our eyes for a moment to find ourselves caught in some trap. That if we leave them the smallest opening for any suspicion or charge of misconduct, we have to suffer for it at once[49] . . . We must never relax our vigilance and never take a holiday." In such a situation Cicero could have exclaimed with Lucilius: *Quid servas quo eam, quid agam? Quid id attinet ad te?* (Lucil. 1083 W); and Nonius explained that *servare* meant *sollicite et suspiciose observare* (*Verr.* II.6.181).[50]

People who had to work hard for their reputation (*QFr.* I.1.10), and even harder to sustain it, could really boast, saying: *Habet existimationem multo sudore, labore, vigiliisque collectam* (*Div. Caec.* 72).

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[48] J. Graff, "Cicero's Selbstauffassung," unpubl. diss., University of Heidelberg 1963.

[49] Cf. Cic. *Fam.* VIII.3.2: Milo's property being forfeit to the state, Philotimus, a freedman of Cicero's wife, Terentia, was indeed to become one of the buyers of the forfeit property. Caelius promises Cicero that Philotimus will perform his duty in the most honorable way and Cicero's *existimatio* will be fully maintained.

[50] See the masterly essay by J. Vogt: *Homo Novus* (Stuttgart, 1926); see also H. Strasburger, *Homo Novus* in *PW*.

Nobles of old stock who achieved their standing without effort could never understand Cicero's vigilance and industry. Neither could Cicero understand their apathy. This is probably the explanation of the series of misunderstandings between Cicero and Brutus after Caesar's murder. It was expected that Brutus would come to rescue the Republic. Cicero thought that to do so would be in the interest of Brutus's rank and *existimatio* (*ad. Brut.* I.18.2). Cicero urged him to play up to the public and the stage he held (*tibi nunc populo et scenae ut dicitur serviendum est* (*ad. Brut.* I.9.2). But Brutus disappointed him in every respect. "*Video te lenitate delectari*" (*ad. Brut.* II.5.2), exlaimed Cicero in despair, but the last Roman would not play to the galleries.

In spite of the difficulties and disappointments which Cicero had to face in his political struggles, he loved the Republic. He would gladly have continued to fight in the forum and law courts, the senate and popular assembly, for his senatorial rank and for popular estimation (e.g. *ad. Brut.* II.1.3). But a new era began when commanders started to exhort their soldiers to defend with arms their own *existimatio* (Caes. *BCiv.* I.7.6). In such a world there was room neither for Cicero nor for what was understood by *existimatio*. When every man claims for himself a power in the state, proportionate to his military strength, then *non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non iudicium, non existimatio civium, non posteritatis verecundia* (*ad. Brut.* I.10.3).

Public opinion in the days of the Principate is a totally different matter.[51] It is time now to consider the role of *existimatio* in the last days of Caesar.

VI

Caesar's personality fascinated many centuries of historians.[52] Brutus's character and the motives for the conspiracy attracted no less interest. Two important works of the last decade may be mentioned: J. P. V. D. Balsdon[53] reached the conclusion after a careful scrutiny of

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[51] Political connotation in the republican sense is rare. Renown in Seneca is *claritas;* and for the usage of *fama* and *existimatio*, see e.g. *Ep.* 102.8: *Nam quomodo fama non est unius sermo, nec infamia unius mala existimatio, sic nec claritas uni bono placuisse;* and *ibid.* 102.12: *Quid ergo? inquit et fama erit unius hominis existimatio et infamia unius malignus sermo?*

[52] For a detailed discussion, see Z. Yavetz, "*Caesar, Caesarism, and Historians,*" *Journal of Contemporary History* 6 (1971) 184–201.

[53] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The Ides of March," *Historia* VII (1958) 80.

the sources that Porcia, Cato's daughter and Bibulus' widow, should be given more credit (than is usually done) for inciting Brutus against Caesar. Hermann Bengtson[54] is more skeptical than the author of *Roman Women*. Like Balsdon, he suggests that contemporary sources should be preferred, but adds a word of caution against any *interpretatio post eventum*. The present condition of the sources does not permit a definite conclusion as to who was the *spiritus rector* of the conspiracy — M. Brutus, as is usually assumed; Decimus Brutus, as is hinted in Nicolaus of Damascus; or Cassius, as stated in Plutarch. Even the beginnings of the conspiracy and the conspirators' plans are shrouded in mystery.[55]

Bengtson's view is supported in a way by the behavior of Brutus and Cassius between 16 March 44 B.C., and their departure from Rome on 13 April. It proves that none of the conspirators had a clear plan for the restoration of the Republic.[56] When D. Junius Brutus Albinus was asked by M. Brutus immediately after the murder what he would suggest, he replied: *dandus est locus fortunae* (Cic. *Fam.* II.1.3); he further proposed to leave Italy, live in exile, and return to Rome only if change for the better should occur; or, if it came to the worst, they should resort to the ultimate means of self-defense. It is difficult to admire the resourcefulness of the *ultimi Romani*, and one tends to agree with Cicero that "acta enim illa res est, animo virili, consilio puerili" (*Att.* 14, 21, 3).

However, it is hard to believe that in deciding to kill Caesar they deliberately thought of self-destruction and not of victory. Cicero seems to be clever after the event. Without challenging the validity of Bengtson's conclusions, it seems a plausible suggestion that the conspirators misjudged the political situation in Rome. It may therefore be asked, what made experienced Roman senators err like children? In view of what has been said above, I would like to suggest that the conspirators did not take into account the vagueness of *existimatio*.

Brutus and Cassius were aware of the fact that Caesar was hated by a good many senators. These officials did not have to suspect that Caesar intended eventually to become king, or a god, or both. For them he was a tyrant, and this was enough. The origin of the word *tyrannus* is obscure, but every Greek knew what a tyrant was like.

[54] H. Bengtson, "Zur Geschichte des Marcus Brutus," *Abh. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.* (1970) 3–50.

[55] *Ibid.* p. 18, "Die Quellenfrage lässt hier Zurückhaltung geboten erscheinen. Wir müssen offen eingestehen, dass wir über die Anfänge der Verschwörung über den spiritus rector nichts Sicheres wissen."

[56] Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 58–82.

Tyrants' courts turned into an inexhaustible source for stories and legends (Herod. 6.126). The free field of Peisistratos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16), the ring of Polycrates (Herod. 3.39–46), and the story of the corn-ears (*ibid.* V.92) became parts of the folklore. The last story was transmitted almost verbally into the annalistic tradition, and only the names of the protagonists were changed (Liv. 1, 54). Tarquinius Superbus, the last Roman Rex, became the symbol of tyranny, and he is depicted in Roman tradition as Herodotus would have described a typical Greek tyrant (Herod. 3.80.3): "Jealous of the most virtuous among his subjects, he wishes their death. He [the tyrant] takes delight in the meanest and basest and is ready to listen to tales of slanderers . . . He sets aside the laws of the country, puts men to death without trial, and rapes women."

The memory of Tarquinius was so resented in Roman tradition that, as late as the end of the 4th Century A.D., Vergil's scholiast could state that the Romans made no difference between king and tyrant (Serv. *in Aen.* IV.320). Cicero could mention in one breath enemies, traitors, robbers, and tyrants (*Pis.* 24).

People like Cicero knew that the Greeks admired tyrannicides[57] and indulged in a similar attitude. There was nothing more shameful than submission to and flattery of a tyrant; it was a disgrace to associate with him, and there was no nobler enterprise than to murder him (*Mil.* 80; *ad. Brut.* I.16.6; *Att.* 7, 20, 2; *Phil.* 2, 117).[58]

The senatorial aristocracy (like every oligarchy) could not tolerate an individual who ventured to rise above the others. They were well aware of the dangerous expedients accessible to unbridled ambition. In order to succeed, an aspirant to sole power had to circumvent the Senate and turn directly to the multitude. The Romans frequently recalled Spurius Maelius, who had attempted to bribe the people with distributions of corn. His elimination by Servilius Ahala (439 B.C.) was celebrated by Cicero in the days of the Catilinarian conspiracy. In 384 B.C. Manlius Capitolinus was put to death because he had proposed a cancellation of debts. And the Cassii never tired of glorifying their patriotism, which was thrown into relief by the end of Sp. Cassius (consul for the third time in 486), who had been executed by his own father for having aspired to *regnum*.[59]

[57] H. Friedl: *Der Tyrannenmord in Gesetzgebung u. Volksmeinung der Griechen* (Stuttgart 1937).

[58] Cf. Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* II.144.

[59] Th. Mommsen, "Sp. Cassius, M. Manlius, Sp. Maelius, Die Drei Demagogen der älteren republikanischen Zeit," *Röm. Forsch.* II.153–220.

Yet aspiration to *regnum* was an accusation too frequently repeated in the political polemics of the declining Republic to be taken at its face value. It was made against Sulla and Cinna, against Catilina and Clodius. Cicero himself could not escape similar defamations. When his enemies denounced his arbitrary conduct during his consulate they spoke of his *regnum* or *tyrannis*.[60] Thus, and only thus, ought one to interpret all the passages in Cicero's writings where Caesar, Pompey, Antony, and Dolabella are characterized as tyrants. The subject hardly requires further treatment; the references have been amply collected and adequately dealt with.[61]

However, it may be further observed that the extent to which Cicero and Brutus are representative of the typical Roman senator is very doubtful. These two were imbued with Greek culture, and when talking of *tyrannis* they could distinguish between a moderate and benevolent autocrat like Peisistratos of Athens and a relentless despot like Phalaris of Agrigentum (*Att.* 7.20.2). The works of Plato were always on Cicero's desk,[62] and quotations from Homer and from the Greek tragedians abound in his letters. Cicero's erudition was far above the average, and one may safely assume that the wealth of historical associations in his letters and speeches was not shared by many of his contemporaries. The common Roman senator did not apply to the words and deeds of Roman statesmen the criteria of Greek political philosophy. He did not consult the works of Aristotle for the principles by which Caesar's actions should be judged (*Arist. Pol.* 1311a, 1313a). Nor did he define him as a tyrant by nature, in whom cruelty, lust, violence, and ambition were fused together; for an unbiased evaluation of Caesar's character would expose his positive qualities as well. Unlike the student of rhetoric, the average Roman senator had one important yardstick for the words and acts of a politician — his faithfulness to Republican tradition. An appeal to the popular assembly above the senate's head, disregard of its authority, or disrespect toward its members would call forth bitterness and resentment. In 45 B.C. people like Servius Sulpicius complained that they had been deprived of their fatherland, of their self-respect, and of their *auctoritas* (*Fam.* IV.5.2–3). For the Republic meant to a Roman senator both a political régime and a way of life at one and the same time. His devotion to what he termed *mos maiorum* was stronger

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[60] Ch. Wirzubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea in Rome* (Cambridge 1950), 60 n. 2.

[61] J. Béranger: "Cicéron précurseur politique," *Hermes* 87 (1959) 101; W. Allen, "Caesar's Regnum," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 227.

[62] For *Deus ille noster Plato*, see *Att.* IV.16.3; *QFr.* I.28–29.

than his adherence to formal law, for the latter was merely part of the former.

Caesar was likewise first of all a Roman senator, and it is doubtful whether Aristotle's *Politics* was his guiding principle. Had it been so, he would have behaved differently toward the lovers of honor (φιλό-τιμοι): "The tyrant should be especially careful of his behavior to men who are lovers of honor. For as the lovers of money (φιλοχρήματοι) are offended when their property is touched, so are the lovers of honor and the virtuous men when their honor is affected" (Arist. *Pol.* 1315a–15 ?). And Caesar offended their honor innumerable times.

Ever since the year 49 Caesar had not concealed his profound hatred of the senate (*Att.* 10.4.9), but even when power was already firmly in his grip he did not mollify this attitude. He must have understood that keeping senators waiting for hours on end in his corridor would win him few friends in the senate (*Att.* 14, 1, 2; 2, 3), but he could still hope that people like Cicero would understand that his over-loaded daily schedule prevented him from sparing time for the lesser interviews. Nevertheless, it cannot easily be seen why he offended senators for no apparent reason.

Once, when he was sitting in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, a distinguished senatorial mission approached him, headed by the consuls and the praetors. They came to inform him about a series of measures adopted by the senate in his honor. Caesar "did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honors needed curtailment rather than enlargement" (Plut. *Caes.* 60). This story also circulated in Rome in various versions, according to one of which Caesar excused himself for not rising because of the feeling that he was losing control of his bowel movements. This excuse, however, only inflamed the senators still more, for a short time later he did rise and went home on foot as if nothing had happened (Cass. Dio 44.8.1–4).

The consular elections he turned into a joke (*Fam.* 7.30.1), his consultations with the *principes civitatis* into pure fiction (*Fam.* 9.15.4). And when rumors spread that Caesar said' '*nihil esse rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie*" (Suet. *Jul.* 77), many were inclined to believe that he really said so.[63] Caesar the consul could not

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[63] Rumors concerning a given subject matter will circulate within a group in proportion to the importance and the ambiguity of this subject matter in the lives of the individual members of the group (Gordon W. Allport and L. Postman, *The Basic Psychology of Rumor in Public Opinion and Propaganda* [New York 1954], 394).

expect friendly cooperation from other senators in return for such a contemptuous attitude. He forgot the golden rule: *non es mihi consul, quia non ego tibi senator sum* (Val. Max. 6.2.2). The acceptance of a patron must have been bitter as death for a Roman senator (*De Off.* II.69).

According to one version, Caesar increased the number of senators to 900, and as early as 46 B.C. there were murmurs that he appointed unworthy members (Cass. Dio, 43.27.2). Later, he was charged with enrolling a vast number of senators without any distinction. Many jokes circulated in Rome about this topic, and it is not difficult to guess in what circles they originated (Suet. *Jul.* 80; Cic., *Fam.* 9.15.2; Sen. *Controv.* 7.3.9; Macrob. *Sat.* 2.3.11).

For a long time scholars gave full credence to these stories.[64] The picture, however, has now been duly rectified in a series of studies by Sir Ronald Syme,[65] and it is generally accepted that Caesar's new senators were no mere nonentities, but respectable and influential gentlemen from the municipal aristocracy in Italy. But even these were a sting in the senators' eyes, and they reproached Caesar for his nominations. Once, when he lost his patience, he reportedly said that if he "had been helped in defending his honor by brigands and cutthroats" (*si grassatorum et siccariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus est*), he would have requited even such men in the same way (Suet. *Jul.* 72).

Such slips of the tongue spread like fire throughout Rome and were a major topic of conversation in various Roman circles. Caesar's face, expression, and style of conversation were not always adopted to the feelings and tastes of everyone.[66] He was not blessed with *humanitas*, that quality of endearing oneself to the lowly, while at the same time winning the affection of the eminent.[67] Stories about his behavior were exaggerated by gossip and added color to his image as a tyrant.

Roman senators quite rightly knew that the oligarchic republic was not everybody's ideal. Cicero feared that money lenders, wealthy merchants, small farmers, and the urban plebs would prefer *otium* and would gladly succumb to one man's rule (Cic. *Att.* 7, 7, 5). Moreover, during the Spanish campaign there were senators like Cassius who prayed for Caesar's victory (Cic. *Fam.* XV.19).

[64] E.g. H. Dessau, "Landsknechte waren unter ihnen und Spieler," *Gesch. Röm. Kais.* I (1942) 94.

[65] R. Syme, "Caesar, the Senate, and Italy," *BSE* 14 (1938) 13; "Who was Decidius Saxa?" *JRS* 27 (1937) 128; *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 78.

[66] According to the advice of the author of *Commentariolum Petitionis* (43).

[67] Pliny *Ep.* IX.5; cf. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 102.

But after the battle of Munda things changed. Senators were encouraged by the fact that the commoners did not clap Victoria because of her "bad neighbor" (Caesar's bust) (*Att.* 13.44), and their propaganda was therefore aimed at new targets. It was futile to charge Caesar with infidelity toward the Republic for *pauci libertatem, magna pars iustos dominos volunt.* But the edge of Caesar's arrogance could be turned against him. The stories just mentioned passed from mouth to ear, in the Forum, in the baths, in the barber shops, in circuses, and in theaters. And, as stated above, the best way of spreading rumors was to repeat them in public in order to deny them.

Cicero used the gimmick brilliantly in his speech, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, in autumn 45 B.C. In passages 33–34 he incidentally refers to some rumors circulating in Rome that Caesar is hated by many because his statue has been placed among those of the gods. These rumors — another story runs — so infuriated the multitude that no one cheered Caesar in public. Clearly, Cicero hastens to add, there is no grain of truth in such rumors; no decent man would believe that Caesar really beheaded many people, flogged others to death, and destroyed houses. There is likewise no truth in the rumor that the Forum is occupied by armed troops. And every schoolboy knows that Caesar is *clementissimus* as a ruler.

There is indeed some truth in the little story about the statue. "But who would complain about a statue, and about one statue only, when one has the opportunity of seeing so many of them? For, to be sure, can one begrudge Caesar statues while no one can begrudge him his trophies? For if it is where the statue is placed that calls forth ill feelings, there is certainly no place more prominent than the *rostra*." And, as for the applause, this story is also true but it has been completely misinterpreted. The crowd withheld applause from Caesar because, watching him, they were so stupefied by admiration as not to be able to cheer. And, besides, they concluded that Caesar was too great to be cheered. Ordinary people may be cheered but it is below the dignity of Caesar to be greeted in so vulgar a way!

The irony of all this catches the eye immediately. While denying them, Cicero repeated the most vicious rumors. And though he stresses, not without a smile, that they ought not to be trusted, the damage has been done, and denials or counterattacks can hardly stop the noxious wave of rumors.

Caesar's enemies had every reason to hope that this propaganda would fall on fertile soil. They could assume that the commoners were displeased by the reduction of the number of the corn-dole recipients,

by the moderate treatment of the problem of debts and rent, and by the prohibition of the *collegia*. They could be encouraged by the behavior of the populace in the procession of the circus games, and from the angry responses to the rumors that Caesar was going to be crowned (especially after the Lupercalia in February 44 B.C.). They were infuriated by Caesar's habit of dictating letters during the games; and allegations concerning his desire to transfer the capital from Rome to Alexandria might win credibility owing to his relationship with Cleopatra. But it seems that the tension between Caesar and some tribunes of the plebs tempted senators more than anything to believe that Caesar's popular halo was vanishing.

Far from being happy with the existence of the tribunate, the *Optimates* would never have supported its utter abolition. They believed that through this institution they could steer a middle course between yielding their privilege and provoking anarchy, and used it in order to make their conservative policy more palatable to the multitude. In a college of ten tribunes it was not difficult to find one person faithful to the *mos maiorum*. It was quite convenient to batter the reforms of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus from behind the rampart of Octavius and Livius Drusus the Elder's *sacrosanctitas* (Cic. *Leg.* III.24).

It was in pretended defense of the *tribunicia potestas* that Caesar crossed the Rubicon. But when the tribune L. Metellus refused to place at his disposal the *aerarium Saturni* he did not hesitate to take it by force, and even to threaten the gallant tribune with death (Plut. *Caes.* 35). This episode was quickly forgotten, but in October 45 B.C. a more serious incident occurred. In that month Caesar celebrated his Spanish triumph. When his triumphant chariot passed by the seats of tribunician college, the tribune Pontius Aquila did not rise to greet him. The infuriated Caesar burst out: "Come then, Aquila, take back the republic from me, you tribune" (Suet. *Jul.* 78), and for several days he would not make a promise to anyone without adding, "That is, if Pontius Aquila will allow me." We are not told what induced Aquila to act against Caesar. The following is only a conjecture: After the battle of Thapsus the triumph had at least been depicted as one merited by the suppression of an external foe, the Numidian Juba. Now, after the battle of Munda, Caesar discarded even this mask, thereby causing mounting resentment in wide circles. However, it is not impossible to ascribe the rift between Caesar and some of the tribunes to even deeper reasons. Caesar himself aspired to the *tribunicia potestas*,[68] and the

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[68] For references on this difficult problem see Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 54 n. 4.

reason is not far to seek. In his intercourse with the populace he did not want intermediaries who were not always ready to obey the nod of his head. There were certainly tribunes who resented Caesar's flagrant disregard of the only authorized reprcsentatives of the plebs — to say nothing of the fact that he himself was a patrician. On the other hand, the existence of such tribunes was particularly welcome to the nobles, who were pleased that their work was being done by the representatives of the plebs. The phenomenon of the *mancipia nobilium* was by no means new in Roman history (Liv. X.37).

In 44 B.C. (a short time before the assassination) Caesar's statue, which stood on the *rostra*, was decorated with a *diadema*, the royal emblem of the Persian kings. Cassius Dio (44.9.2) claims that this was done secretly, and Plutarch recounts vaguely that it turned out that statues of Caesar had been adorned with royal *diademata* (*Caes.* 61), without mentioning who was responsible for this deed. Suetonius, who describes the *diadema* as a laurel intertwined with a white ribbon, states that the statue was decorated by one of the multitude (*Jul.* 79), and only Appian (*BCiv.* 11.108) avers that this man was one of those who had undertaken to spread the rumor about Caesar's desire to become king.

The truth about the *diadema* affair will forever remain uncertain. Did Caesar's enemies stand behind the decoration campaign in order to damage Caesar's reputation? Did Caesar himself secretly authorize the deed in order to test the public mood? The problem is even more involved. The tribunes of the plebs, Epidius Marullus and L. Caesetius, ordered the *diadema* to be removed. Caesar retaliated by deposing them from their office. What was the reason? If it is assumed that he was enraged by the failure of his wish to be crowned king, it ought to be pointed out that it is doubtful whether the decoration of a statue could be counted as a genuine crowning. Was it because Caesar had been deprived (as he himself claimed) of the glory of refusing royal honors? Or was it because he suspected that the tribunes themselves were responsible for the provocations? According to Nicolaus of Damascus, Caesar accused the tribunes of having themselves decorated the statue (130.69) and the fact that he is a pro-Caesarian author does not necessarily invalidate this piece of information. The fact remains that the tribunes were deposed.

But the populace did not acquiesce in the arbitrary ousting of tribunes. And, indeed, the tribunes deposed in 44 did not lose their popularity (Cass. Dio, 44.11.4; Suet. *Jul.* 80.3).

The conspirators were encouraged by what they might have con-

sidered a rift between Caesar and the tribunes of the plebs. Unknown people wrote under the statue of L. Brutus, the ejector of the kings, *utinam viveres*, and on the base of Caesar's statue they wrote, *Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est: hic quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est* (Suet. *Jul.* 80.3). The conspirators fell prey to their own propaganda and failed to perceive that a passing mood expressed in the reaction of a vociferous minority does not necessarily correspond with the sentiments of the silent majority. This false assumption aroused their hopes that Caesar's assassination would put an end to tyranny.

There is little point in testing the truth behind these rumors. By their very nature, rumors always give a tremendous advantage to the defamer. People pass on gossip from mouth to ear, and the abused are driven into a corner with no possibility of fighting back. If they disregard the slander, they incur the danger of swelling the wave of rumors by their very silence and of rendering the public more credulous. Any attempt to defend one's reputation involves self-degradation.[69] This was Caesar's position when he wrote his *Anticato*. For the spreading of rumors orally was just one way of sullying another's reputation. The composition of slanderous pamphlets was another common weapon in the political struggles under the Republic. Livy's account of how Scipio Africanus rejected the title "Dictator for Life" and declined to have his statues set up on the *rostra* in the Curia and on the Capitolium is taken from an anti-Caesarian pamphlet, not from a second-century source. The indications pointing in this direction are obvious. Suetonius knows of a scurrilous book by Aulus Caecina and of abusive lampoons by Pitholaus (Suet. *Jul.* 75.5). There is no reason to doubt this piece of information, for a wave of slanders and defamations is well attested in the contemporary sources.

Caesar was enraged, and though, according to Dio (43.20), he denied upon oath the gossip concerning the nature of his relations with Nicomedes — with the result that he made himself more ridiculous — he otherwise made no serious attempt at fighting back. "If any dangerous plots were formed against him, or slanders uttered, he preferred to quash rather than to punish them. Accordingly, he took no further notice of the conspiracies which were detected and of meetings by night, than to make known by proclamation that he was aware of them; and he thought it enough to give public warning to those who spoke ill of him not to persist in their conduct (Suet. *Jul.* 75.5)." It is hard to explain this behavior. Did this versatile man despise empty words? Did he believe that a glorious Parthian expedition would at once

[69] For a discussion of the problem see *ad Her.* II.12.

restore his popular nimbus? Or was the hero simply so tired and
resigned after the fiasco of his *Anticato*, that he not only resolved to
avoid public debate, but went so far as to dismiss his personal guard?
Or, on the contrary, did he conclude in his last days that it was possible
to gain widespread popularity if he only trusted his ardent supporters
and despised his enemies?

Quot homines tot sententiae — but one thing may be said with
certainty: his public image was spoiled — *existimatio lacerata*, as
Suetonius puts it (*ibid.*). And the conspirators entered the trap. Nowa-
days, one might have said that the Gallup Poll led the conspirators
down the "yellow brick road." It was only after the murder that the
true state of mind was revealed.

VIII

As a matter of fact, under the Principate the ancients were aware of
the vagueness of public opinion, which was usually based on rumors.
For Vergil, *fama* was the swiftest of all evils. "Speed lends her strength,
and she wins vigor as she goes."[70] Public opinion was not always vehe-
mently outspoken. It was sometimes *tacita existimatio* (Cic. *Verr.*
II.5.176) and at other times *incerta* (*Fam.* VIII.2.2, Liv. IV.15.1).
Seneca knew that it was generally wavering, always taking both sides:
Existimatio hominum dubia semper est et in partem utramque dividitur
(*Ep.* 26.6).

Quintilianus' definition was even more sophisticated: With regard to
fama and *rumores*, he says that one party will call them the verdict of
publicum testimonium (public opinion?) or of the *consensus civitatis*. The
other will describe them as vague talk based on no sure authority,
to which malignity has given birth and credulity increase, an ill to which
even the most innocent of men may be exposed by the deliberate
dissemination of falsehood on the part of their enemies.[71] Brutus and
Cassius were not careful enough. They believed in the anti-Caesarian
rumors. They were mistaken in their belief that the murder of the
dictator would solve their problem. They rejoiced prematurely immedi-
ately after the deed, and were panic-stricken when they saw the real
reaction of the people.

This fits Ovid's allegorical description: *Fama* dwells upon a high
mountain-top. She has given the house countless entrances — but
with no doors to close them. Night and day the house stands open.

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[70] Virg. *Aen.* 4.174: *Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum.*
[71] Quint. *Inst.* V.3.

The place is full of noises; it repeats all words and doubles what it hears. There is no quiet, no silence anywhere within. And yet there is no loud clamor, but only a subdued murmur of the waves of the sea if you listen afar off. Crowds fill the hall; shifting throngs come and go, and everywhere wander thousands of rumors; falsehoods mingled with the truth and confused reports flit about: *Mixtaque cum veris passim commenta vagantur/Milia rumorum confusaque verba volutant.*

And what are the general qualities of *fama*? First, *credulitas*, then *temerarius error*; later *vana laetitia* (unfounded joy) and eventually *consternanti timores* (panic fear).[72]

Tel-Aviv University

[72] Ov. *Met.* XII.39–63.

SOPHOCLES: *AJAX* 815–824

Cedric H. Whitman

AI.   ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἕστηκεν ᾗ τομώτατος   815
γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, εἴ τῳ καὶ λογίζεσθαι σχολή·
δῶρον μὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἕκτορος ξένων ἐμοὶ
μάλιστα μισηθέντος· ἐχθίστου θ᾽ ὁρᾶν·
πέπηγε δ᾽ ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ Τρῳάδι,
σιδηροβρῶτι θηγάνῃ νεηκονής·   820
ἔπηξα δ᾽ αὐτὸν εὖ περιστείλας ἐγώ,
εὐνούστατον τῷδ᾽ ἀνδρὶ διὰ τάχους θανεῖν.
οὕτω μὲν εὐσκευοῦμεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶνδέ μοι
σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ γὰρ εἰκός, ἄρκεσον.

It is remarkable how editors have mistaken the structure of this passage. In Jebb's view, the μὲν of the first line was not answered until ἐκ δὲ τῶνδε in 823. To this it has been generally objected that the force of the μὲν could not be felt so long, which may be true; but more important, the δὲ of 823 clearly answers to the μὲν in the same line, where the two clauses are not in the full sense antithetical, but rather indicate, as often, complementary aspects of the same situation. The line means: "I am thus well-prepared (for my part); next, do you, O Zeus..." and so on.
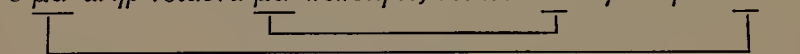
Kammerbeek does not deal with the problem; more recently, W. B. Stanford takes the μὲν of 815 as *solitarium*, and compares line 1 of the play; but μὲν *solitarium* normally implies a δέ, or an analogous structural element, even if it is not expressed, and, in fact, Athena's initial ἀεὶ μὲν ... δέδορκα is picked up by καὶ νῦν ... ὁρῶ, again a complementary, rather than antithetical, construction which moves from the general to the particular: "I *always have seen* you making trial of your enemies, and *now I see you* again ..."

But the phrase ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἕστηκεν is the first limb of a real, and important, antithesis; the second limb is delayed, but not so long as Jebb thought; it comes in line 821, ἔπηξα δ᾽ αὐτόν ... ἐγώ: "The sword stands ... but I fixed it there," with strong positional emphasis on ἐγώ. In between come a second μὲν (817) and δὲ (819), which

stress two complementary aspects of the hostility of the circumstances: the sword is a gift (μέν) of an enemy, and it is fixed (δέ) in enemy soil. The accepted punctuation, which puts a comma after γένοιτ' ἄν, would be improved by putting a half-stop instead, with comma at the end of the line, thus giving an "asyndeton of the colon," appropriately introducing Ajax's dark reflections on the enmity of both the weapon and the land, "If one takes time actually to reckon."

Thus the whole passage 815–821 consists of a long μέν-δέ construction enclosing a shorter one. An obvious grammatical parallel is found in Xen. *Anab.* I, 6, 9:

ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ

πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὅτι σοι δοκεῖ.

For a Sophoclean example, see *Antig.* 255–258.

But the grammatical parallel is of less significance than the dramatic one to be found in *Oedipus Rex* 1329–1331. The chorus asks Oedipus how he had the daring to destroy his eyes, and what *daemon* drove him to it. Oedipus replies:

Ἀπόλλων τάδ' ἦν, Ἀπόλλων, φίλοι,
ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ' ἐμὰ πάθεα.
ἔπαισε δ' αὐτόχειρ νιν οὔτις, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τλάμων.

Though no μέν is expressed, the lines comprise an antithesis. Oedipus is drawing a distinction, as the chorus had not, between the circumstantial devising of his suffering by Apollo, and the independent (αὐτόχειρ) act of blinding, committed by no one but himself. Thus Oedipus asserts a final degree of moral autonomy in himself, which he later explains (1369ff), in contrast to the ambient network of irrational horror in which he is caught. In short, he dissociates himself, or some part of himself, from his fatal deeds.

In a similar way, Ajax too is dissociating himself from the madness that led him to slaughter the herds, and from the disgrace that can only be purged by his own death. He has consistently refused to identify his real self with what he has done perforce in his insane fit, and insisted on a final act of self-mastery, or authentication of the heroic Ajax as against the debasing irrationality of his τύχη. The madness was Athena's doing; Ajax's death is his own, the token of his true self. The contrast, therefore, between ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἔστηκεν and ἔπηξα δ'

αὐτὸν ... ἐγώ, with its subordinate musings on the hostile gift and the hostile land, is of dramatic importance, for it exemplifies once more the characteristically Sophoclean tragic scheme, wherein the hero separates himself by individual, free action from the malignity of surrounding circumstance.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SIX STUDIES OF SACRAL VOCABULARY
RELATING TO THE FIREPLACE

Gregory Nagy

Introduction

IN the course of investigating the hieratic diction of such disparate organizations as the Atiedian Brethren of Umbrian Iguvium and the Brahmans of the Indic Vedas, I have noticed some striking convergences in the modes of referring to fire and the fireplace. Since we are dealing with societies that spoke cognate languages, I am encouraged to see in such convergences the actual traces of cognate institutions, or even of cognate religious attitudes.

The form which is central to my six studies is the Indo-European root $*\partial_2 es$-. As a verb, radical $*\partial_2 es$- must have meant something like "set on fire" — or so we might infer from the comparative evidence of various Indo-European languages. The evidence of Hittite, however, is enigmatic. Purely on formal grounds, we may expect the root $*\partial_2 es$- to survive in Hittite as *haš*-, and there is indeed a Hittite noun *hašša-* meaning "sacrificial fireplace." That much is straightforward. The Hittitologist Laroche has also remarked, *en passant*,[1] that the noun *hašša-* is actually related in form to Latin *āra* "sacrificial fireplace, altar." The problem is that there is also a Hittite verb *haš*- meaning not "set on fire" but "beget." A closer look at the attested reflexes of the root $*\partial_2 es$-, the most important among which is Latin *āra*, may help resolve the semantic problem of relating the verb *haš*- "beget" to the noun *hašša-* "sacrificial fireplace." In fact, the actual context for a semantic relationship between "beget" and "fireplace" may be latent in the heritage of Italic myth and ritual.

I find a further semantic problem in the Hittite word for "king," *haššu-*, which seems to be derived from the same Hittite verb *haš*- "beget."[2] All we can do at this point is cite an analogous semantic

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[1] E. Laroche, "Hittitica," *Revue de Philologie* 23 (1949) 36.

[2] The Hittite verb *haš*- "beget" is spelled with a single *s* in the third person singular (*ha-a-ši*) and with double *s* in the third plural (*ha-aš-ša-an-zi*). Such derivatives as *haššatar* "begetting, *gēns*" show double *s* (*ha-aš-ša-tar*), and so too the proposed derivative *haššu-* (*ha-aš-šu-*). By contrast, consider the Luvian and Palaic adjective *wašu-* "good," with single *s*, which seems to be derived

relationship, even if we fail to understand the precise application of the notion "beget." The English noun *king* and the German *König* stem from a Germanic formation **kuningaz*. This noun is a derivative of **kun-* (as in Gothic *kuni* "race, family"), a root with cognates in Latin *gēns, genus, genitor, gignō*, etc.[3] Note especially the meaning of *gignō*. Again, I will attempt to locate a context for such a semantic relationship between "beget" and "king" within the realm of Italic myth and ritual.

1. Greek ἑστία, Latin *Vesta*, Indic *Vivasvat*

According to Kuryłowicz,[4] some Indo-European roots shaped CeC(C)- had variants shaped CweC(C)-, as we see from the following list of examples:

*ə₁esu-/*ə₁osu-: Greek ἐΰ- "good," Hittite *aššu-* "good"

vs.

*ə₁wesu-/*ə₁wosu-: Indic *vásu-* "good," Iranian (Avestan) *vohu-* "good," Luvian and Palaic *wašu-* "good."

*teks-: Indic *takṣ-* "fashion"

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from the verb *wašš-* "be agreeable," attested in Hittite with double *s*. Instead of *wašu-*, however, the Hittite word for "good" is *aššu-*, with double *s*. Even if we are not prepared to explain them, it is still important to note the existence of such *s/ss* variations. (As for the absence of *w-* in *aššu-*, see below.) I find a similar *s/ss* problem in the contrast of Latin *āra* and Umbrian *asa*, both meaning "sacrificial fireplace, altar." Like Latin, Umbrian rhotacizes single intervocalic **-s-*, so that we have to reconstruct an inherited Italic contrast of **āsā* vs. **ăssā* in order to account for the respective Latin and Umbrian forms. Again, I merely note the existence of this *s/ss* variation, rather than attempt an explanation.

[3] E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* II (Paris 1969) 85.

[4] Cf. J. Kuryłowicz, "ə indoeuropéen et ḫ hittite," *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* I (Kraków 1927) 25–104; *pace* Benveniste (n. 3) I 22–25. Henceforth, C = "consonant"; >/< = "evolved phonologically to/from." Notations like **ə₁ *ə₂ *ə₃* (for the so-called "laryngeals") and "theme I"/"theme II" (for the radical patterns CeC-C-/CC-eC-) follow the system of E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* I (Paris 1935); Benveniste's book remains canonical for correlating laryngeal-theory with root- and Ablaut-theory in Indo-European studies. (Of course, the symbol ə is inaccurate for designating what functioned as a consonant in the radical system of Indo-European; it is used here only for the sake of convention, as also in Benveniste's *Origines*.)

vs.

tweks-: Indic *tvakṣ-* "fashion," Iranian (Avestan) *θwaxš-* "fashion."

$ə_1$ers-/$ə_1$ors-*: Indic *arṣ-* "flow," Hittite *arš-* "flow"

vs.

$ə_1$wers-: Indic *varṣ-* "rain", Greek ἔρση/ἐέρση "dew" [5]

$ə_2$es-/$ə_2$os-*: Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace"

vs.

$ə_2$wes-: Greek ἑστία [6] "fireplace, goddess of the fireplace," Latin *Vesta* "goddess of the fireplace."

The last set of examples, which is my own addition, will prove important for understanding Hittite *ḫaš-* "beget." As Dumézil has noticed,[7] the root of *Ves-ta* also survives in the Indic form *vi-vás-vat-*. The mythical figure Vivasvat is the first person ever to receive fire on Earth, by virtue of being the first to sacrifice on Earth; he is *ipso facto* the ancestor of the human race.[8] In Rig-Vedic diction, to say *sádane vivásvataḥ* "at the place of the Vivasvat" (1.53.1, etc.) is the same as saying "at the sacrifice." Vivasvat, father of Yama (10.14.5, 10.17.1), is formally and thematically cognate with the Avestan figure Vīvah-vant, father of Yima. Vīvahvant was the first person ever to prepare Haoma (Yasna 9.3f). The association of Vīvahvant with Haoma is

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[5] Cf. also Hittite *warša-* "dew," *waršula-* "secretion, droplet, humor," as analyzed by E. Laroche, "Études lexicales et étymologiques sur le hittite," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 58 (1963) 59–62. Cf. also C. Watkins, "'River' in Celtic and Indo-European" (forthcoming), on such radical pairs as Avestan *arəš-* vs. *varəš-*.

[6] The form ἱστίη shows a raising of *e to *i after the labial *w in *westiā; such replacement of *e by *i next to labials is a feature of the "standard" Mycenaean dialect: see E. Risch, "Les Différences dialectales dans le my-cénien," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, ed. by L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick (Cambridge 1966) 150–157. See also G. Nagy, "On dialectal anomalies in Pylian texts," *Atti e memorie del 1° congresso inter-nazionale di micenologia* (Incunabula Graeca 25:2, Roma 1968) 663–679; F. W. Householder and G. Nagy, "Greek," *Current Trends in Linguistics* IX ('s-Gravenhage 1972) 784–785. To the list of lexical entries showing the replacement of *e by *i (*ibid.*), add ἱστίη, which was first pointed out to me by P. Hollifield. Note too that the root of ἑστία could theoretically be reconstructed as *$ə_1$wes- rather than *$ə_2$wes-. In the course of the discussion which follows, I hope to adduce evidence in favor of the latter reconstruction.

[7] G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome* (Paris 1954) 34f.

[8] Cf. *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā* 1.6.12, *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* 6.5.6.1–2, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.1.3–4.

important because the Rig-Vedic Vivasvat likewise has special associa-
tions with Soma (9.26.4, 9.10.5, etc.), and further because Soma/
Haoma (from Indo-Iranian *sauma) constitutes the Indo-Iranian
sacrifice *par excellence*.

The Indic form *vivásvat-* itself is an adjective derived from the verb
vas-, with the attested meaning "shine."[9] The Rig-Vedic god of
sacrificial fire, Agni himself, is called the Vivasvat at the morning
sacrifice, as Uṣas the goddess of dawn appears (1.44.1, 7.9.3). Uṣas
in turn is called the feminine equivalent, Vivasvatyā:

> dídṛkṣanta uṣáso yámann aktór
> vivásvatyā máhi citrám ánīkam
>
> at the coming of Uṣas from the darkness,
> they yearn to see the great shining visage of the Vivasvatyā
>
> (3.30.13)

When the fire-god Agni begot the human race, his "eye" was *vivásvat-*:

> imáḥ prajā́ ajanayan mánūnām
> vivásvatā cákṣasā dyā́m apáś ca
>
> he begot this progeny of men [and]
> with his shining eye, the sky and the waters
>
> (1.96.2)

In Rig-Vedic diction, the causative stem *janáya-* is used indifferently
to denote either begetting or creation. For another example of *janáya-*
denoting creation, consider the wording of the following Rig-Vedic
verses, again involving Agni:

> tvám bhúvanā janáyann abhí krann
> ápatyāya jātavedo daśasyán
>
> your sound is heard, as you create the world,
> O Jātavedas, helpful for progeny
>
> (7.5.7)

The macrocosmic principle inherent in Agni, god of the sacrificial
fire, is anchored in a belief that the rising of the sun is dependent on
the kindling of the sacrificial fire. The sacrificers pray as follows:

> ā́ te agna idhīmahi
> dyumántaṃ devájáram
> yád dha syā́ te pánīyasī
> samíd dīdáyati dyávi

9 Dumézil (n. 7) 34.

> may we, Lord Agni, kindle
> your bright, ageless fire,
> so that your wondrous brand
> may shine in the sky
>
> (5.6.4)

In fact, it is Agni whom the sacrificers implore to make the sun ascend the sky (10.156.4). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* puts it even more bluntly (2.3.1.5): without the morning sacrificial fire, there would be no sunrise. The macrocosmic *cákṣas* "eye" of Agni in the Rig-Vedic passage cited above (1.96.2) is clearly the sun (cf. also 6.7.6). With the sun, Agni *ajanayat* "created/begot" the world and mankind. To repeat, the epithet of this solar symbol *cákṣas* is *vivásvat-*, derived from the verb *vas-* "shine" < *$*ə_2wes$-. This reconstruction $*ə_2wes$- also fits the Hittite verb *huiš-*, but this form means "live" rather than "shine." Compare Hittite *ḫaš-*, meaning "beget" rather than "set on fire," despite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace." Finally, notice that even the suffix of *ḫuišwant-* "alive" is cognate with that of *vivásvat-*.

From the Vedic contexts of *vivásvat-*, then, it appears that the usage of the Indic root *vas-* was appropriate to two situations which were considered parallel: the kindling of the sacrificial fire and the shining of the sun; furthermore, *vas-* implied creation and procreation. In view of such an inherited implication, I propose that Hittite *ḫuiš-* "live" stems from the same root $*ə_2wes$- as in *vivásvat-*, ἑστία, and *Vesta*; also, that Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace" is derived from *ḫaš-* "beget."

$*ə_2es-/*ə_2os$-: Hittite *ḫaš-* "beget" (via "set on fire"?)
              Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace"
$*ə_2wes-/*ə_2wos$-: Hittite *ḫuiš-* "live" (via "be on fire, shine"?)
              Rig-Vedic *vas-* "shine"

vivásvat-	epithet of Agni, god of sacrificial fire
	epithet of Agni's eye, the sun, when he begot mankind
	name of the first sacrificer on Earth, ancestor of mankind

      Greek ἑστία "fireplace, goddess of the fireplace"
      Latin *Vesta* "goddess of the fireplace."

The Rig-Vedic verb *vas-* "shine" (< *$*ə_2wes$-), with zero grade *uṣ-* (< *$*ə_2us$-), frequently occurs in collocation with the noun *uṣás-*

"dawn" (1.48.3, etc.). The word *uṣás-* itself is etymologically the nominal derivative $*ə_2us\text{-}os\text{-}$ of the verbal $*ə_2wes\text{-}$. Unlike the radical zero grade of Rig-Vedic *uṣás-* (from $*ə_2us\text{-}os\text{-}$), the Greek and Latin words for "dawn" show the full grade:

$$*ə_2eus\text{-}ōs > *ausōs > (*hawōs >) \text{ Aeolic } αὔως^{10}$$
$$*ə_2eus\text{-}ōs\text{-}(e)ə_2 > *ausōsă > \text{ Latin } aurōra.$$

Note that these words for "dawn" show full grade with radical theme I ($*ə_2eu\text{-}s\text{-}$) rather than theme II ($*ə_2w\text{-}es\text{-}$); by contrast, the Greek and Latin nominal derivatives with theme II denote not "dawn" but "fireplace":

$$*ə_2wes\text{-}ti\text{-}eə_2 > *westiā > ἑστία$$
$$*ə_2wes\text{-}t\text{-}(e)ə_2 > *westă > Vesta.$$

There is, then, a distinct formal connection between nominal derivatives meaning "dawn" (theme I: $*ə_2eu\text{-}s\text{-}$) and those meaning "fireplace" (theme II: $*ə_2w\text{-}es\text{-}$). The semantic connection between the macrocosm of dawn and the microcosm of the sacrificial fireplace is explicit in the *Rig-Veda*, where the coming of dawn is treated as an event parallel to the simultaneous kindling of the sacrificial fire (1.124.1, 11; 5.75.9; 5.76.1; 5.79.8; 7.41.6; etc.). The link or *dūtá-* "messenger" between dawn and the sacrificial fireplace is the fire-god Agni, as in *Rig-Veda* 10.122.7:

> tvắm íd asyắ uṣáso vyùṣṭiṣu
> dūtám kṛṇvānắ ayajanta mắnuṣāḥ
>
> at the lighting-up of this dawn,
> men [= "descendants of Manu"] have sacrificed,
> making you [= Agni] the messenger

[10] The spelling αὔως reflects an underlying *awwōs*; the gemination of *w* reflects the Aeolic device for poetic lengthening of initial syllables with shape *Vw-* (*V* = "vowel"), on which one of the most informative works remains F. Solmsen's *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre* (Strassburg 1901). By contrast, the Attic-Ionic device for poetic lengthening of initial syllables with shape *Vw-* is not gemination of the *w* but lengthening of the *V-* (hence $\bar{V}w\text{-}$):

$$*hawōs \text{ to } *hāwōs; \text{ then } *hāwōs > *ἤως > ἕως \quad \text{(Attic)}$$
$$ἠώς \quad \text{(Homeric).}$$

For a summary of the diachronic motivations for poetic lengthening of the initial syllable, see J. Kuryłowicz, *L'Apophonie en indo-européen* (Wrocław 1956) 264–269; also Householder/Nagy (n. 6) 754.

Alternatively, *awwōs* and *āwōs* might be direct phonological reflexes of *ausōs*.

In the stanza immediately following (10.122.8), the Vasiṣṭha-s (= "the Best") are described as archetypal sacrificers who summoned Agni to the sacrifice. These same priestly Vasiṣṭha-s are also the first to waken Uṣas "Dawn" with their songs of praise (*Rig-Veda* 7.80.1). Elsewhere in the *Rig-Veda*, it is Uṣas who awakens men for the morning sacrifice (cf. 1.113.8–12), as opposed to the converse theme wherein the sacrificers awaken Uṣas (4.52.4):

> *yāvayáddveṣasaṃ tvā*
> *cikitvít sūnṛtāvari*
> *práti stómair abhutsmahi*
>
> by songs of praise, with awareness,
> we awakened you [= Uṣas]
> who ward off the foe, O Sunṛtāvari!

(I wish to postpone discussion of the vocative epithet of Uṣas, *sūnṛtā-vari*, for a future project. I intend to compare the Rig-Vedic collocation of root *nṛt-* "dance" and Uṣas with the Homeric collocation of χοροί "dances" and Ἡώς, as in *Odyssey* 12.4.)[11]

Besides the reflexes of theme I *ə₂eus-* in Greek (Aeolic) αὔως and Latin *aurōra*, there may have been a secondary full grade *eus-* as well, derived from zero grade *us-* (< *ə₂us-*). Consider the Latin and Greek thematic verbs *ūrō* "burn" and εὕω "singe," both of which can be reconstructed as *eusō*: there is no trace of any *ə₂* preceding *eus-*, as in *aurōra* and αὔως. Compare also the formation of *ūrō* and εὕω with that of Indic *óṣati* "burn."[12]

In addition to the thematic-stem verb *óṣati*, Indic preserves thematic-stem nouns also shaped *(ə₂)eus-e/o-*,[13] namely *dur-óṣa-* "hard to

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[11] For an important study of the goddess Eos and her relation to the dance, see Deborah Boedeker, "Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic" (Ph.D. diss. St. Louis University 1973).

[12] For a discussion of verbs with secondary full grade (C)eR-C- built from zero grade (C)R-C-, see J. Kuryłowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik* II: *Akzent/Ablaut* (Heidelberg 1968) 221. (R = r, l, m, n, y, or w.)

[13] Compare the formal contrast of athematic-stem *ə₂us-*, as in Indic *uṣ-*, and derived thematic-stem *ə₂eus-e/o-*, as in Indic *oṣa-*, with other similar contrasts in nouns:

athematic stem	thematic stem
*diw-	*deiw-e/o-
(Indic *dív-* "sky, sky god")	(Indic *devá-* "god")
*luk-	*leuk-e/o-
(Indic *rúc-* "light")	(Greek λευκός "bright, white")
etc.	

Cf. Kuryłowicz (n. 12) 303.

kindle" and *óṣa-dhī*: "plant." I interpret the latter noun as a compound consisting of the roots *uṣ-* ($< *ə_2us-$) and *dhā-* ($< *dheə_1-$ "put, place"), meaning something like "light-emplacement."[14] Notice that the Rig-Veda pictures the fire-god himself, Agni, lodged in plants called *óṣa-dhī-* (8.43.9).

To avoid confusion, we must make note of an Indo-European root *$*ə_2eu-$* "spend the night, camp, lie and rest," as in Armenian *aganim* "spend the night"; with *l*-extension, *$*ə_2eu-l-$* survives in Greek αὖλις "overnight place, stall," αὐλίζομαι "spend the night, camp," ἄγραυλος "camping in the field," etc. With *s*-extension, *$*ə_2eu-s-$* survives in Greek ἰαύω "sleep" $< *ə_2i-ə_2eu-s-$. Besides theme I *$*ə_2eu-s-$*, theme II *$*ə_2wes-$* is attested in the Homeric aorist ἄεσα of the present-tense ἰαύω; also in Old Irish *foaid* "spends the night" (from *$*ə_2woseti$*), Rig-Vedic *vas-* "spend the night," etc. The conjugational patterns of *vas-* "spend the night" and *vas-* "shine" are formally differentiated from each other, as in present third singular *vásati* "spends the night" vs. *uccháti* "shines," for example. Of course, the original roots are distinct: *vas-* "spend the night" $< *ə_2w-es-$, theme II vs. theme I *$*ə_2eu-s-$*, from the basic root *$*ə_2eu-$*; *vas-* "shine" $< *ə_2wes-$, variant of the basic root *$*ə_2es-$*; the form *$*ə_2wes-$* is theme II to theme I *$*ə_2eus-$*. It is important to note also the distinction between *$*ə_2wes-$* "spend the night" and *$*ə_1wes-$* "be," attested in the Hittite verb *waš-* "be kind" and in the Palaic/Luvian adjective *wašu-* "good."[15] The root *$*ə_1wes-$* is also attested in Armenian *goy* "is, exists"; in Germanic, *$*ə_1wes-$* survives as the suppletive alternate of *$*ə_1es-$* "be," as in English *was* and *is* respectively. Compare too the derivation of the Hittite adjective *aššu-* "good" from the verb *aš-/eš-* "be" with that of *wašu-* "good" from *waš-* "be kind"; this set of four forms implies an original alternation *$*ə_1es(u-)$* vs. *$*ə_1wes-(u-)$*.[16]

2. Radical *$*ə_2es-$* and Latin *āra*

Hittite *ḫašša-* is comparable in both form and meaning to Italic *$*āsā/*ǎssā$* "sacrificial fireplace, altar," as in Latin *āra*, Umbrian *asa*,

[14] For thematic evidence in favor of this interpretation, see Nagy, "ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος" (forthcoming). For a morphological survey of the etymological possibilities, including the one suggested here, see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins* II (Paris 1956) 268; also, consider the semantics of English "*set* on fire."

[15] For the semantic development from "be" to "be kind," see Nagy, "Asura" (forthcoming); compare English *hap, happen* vs. *happy*.

[16] For a discussion of Indic *ásu-* and Iranian *ahu-*, as well as the root *$*ə_1es-/$* *$*ə_1wes-$*, see Nagy, "Asura" (forthcoming). Note that in the *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* of J. Pokorny (Bern 1949ff) 1170f, the root *$*ə_2wes-$* "spend the night" is not distinguished from *$*ə_1wes-$* "be"; the Indo-European reflexes of these roots are listed under one entry *$*ues-$* (= *$*wes-$*).

Oscan *aasai* (locative).[17] The length of the radical vowel, guaranteed by Latin *āra* and Oscan *aasai*, may be a secondary Italic development, as we infer from such contrasts as in Latin *ăcuō* vs. *ācer*. If the original Italic root is **ăs-*, we may then reconstruct **ăs(s)-ā-* < **ə₂os(s)-oə₂-*, vs. **ə₂os(s)-o-* as in Hittite *ḫašša-*.

Also apparently related to Latin *āra* and Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace" is a series of Germanic derivative nouns with root **as-/*az-* (< **ə₂es-*). The following list shows some of the semantically most plausible instances:

Old Icelandic *arinn* "sacrificial fireplace," from **az-ina-* (compare also the Finnish borrowing *arina* "hearthstone")

German *Esse* "smith's fireplace" = "forge," from **as-jōn*; likewise Old High German *essa*, Old Icelandic *esja* (compare also the Finnish borrowing *ahjo* "fireplace")

English *ash(es)*, from **as-kōn*; likewise Old English *aesce*, Old Icelandic *aska*, Old High German *aska*.

For the meaning of English *ashes*, compare Indic *ăsa-* "ashes."[18] This masculine noun can be reconstructed **ə₂os-o-*, which also fits Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace." The lengthening of the radical vowel in *ăsa-* is an accessory feature of the thematic vowel *-a-* (< **-o-*).[19] For a typological parallel to the semantic contrast of *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace" vs. *ăsa-* "ashes," compare Lithuanian/Latvian *pēlenas/pelns* "domestic fireplace, hearth" (singular) vs. *pelenaĩ/pelni* "ashes" (plural).

Another possible reflex of the root **as-* (< **ə₂es-*) occurs in Greek *ἀσ-βολος/ἀσ-βόλη*, traditionally translated as "soot."[20] Compare Semonides 7.61–62D:

> οὔτε πρὸς ἱπνὸν ἀσβόλην ἀλευμένη
> ἵζοιτ᾽

[17] Cf. n. 1.

[18] For an especially interesting attestation, consider the context of *ăsa-* in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.5.1.9, where it is being described as a creative substance; *ăsa-* is what becomes of the *aṅgára-s* "coals," mentioned in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.5.1.8, where the *aṅgára-s* are in turn described as the creative substance from which the *Áṅgiras-es* originate. Cf. also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.34; cf. also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.4.4, 2.3.2.1.3, 12.4.1.4. For more on *aṅgára-* and *Áṅgiras-*, see Nagy, "*ἀνήρ* and *ἄνθρωπος*" (forthcoming).

[19] See Kuryłowicz (n. 12) 282f, on the phenomenon known as Brugmann's Law.

[20] I accept the etymological interpretation "Aschen-wurf"; cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I (München 1939) 440. For the absence of -o- between *ἄσ-* and *-βολος*, compare *ἐπεσ-βόλος*, *κερασ-βόλος*.

"nor would she sit by the oven; [thus] avoiding the ἀσβόλη." (A woman is being described as a bad homemaker.)

This survey of nominal derivatives with root *$ə_2es$- points to the original existence of a verb *$ə_2es$-. The pattern of derivation from verb to noun is most apparent from the Indic evidence:

kắma- "desire"	from	*kam-* "be desirous"
śāka- "power"	from	*śak-* "be powerful"
etc.		
ắsa- "ashes"	from	*as-* "be on fire"?

Consider this typological parallel in Lithuanian and Latvian:

pelenaĩ "ashes"	from	*pel-,
pęlni		as in Old Slavonic *polěti* "be on fire."

A verbal *$ə_2es$- is possibly attested in Latin *ardeō, ardēre* "be on fire," which I reconstruct as *$ăs$-edh-[21] plus stative suffix *-ē-.[22] Similarly, I reconstruct Latin *āreō, ārēre* "be dry" as *$ās$- plus stative suffix *-ē-, without the segment *-edh-. Compare Greek φλεγ-έθ-ω vs. φλέγ-ω, both meaning "be on fire"; also Φα-έθ-ων vs. Φά-ων, both meaning "bright, shining."[23] Within the semantic framework of cause (fire) and effect (non-water), it is easy to imagine an evolution in the meaning of *$ās$-ē- from "be on fire" to "be dry." In Tocharian, there is a verb *as-* (< *as- < *$ə_2es$-) meaning "dry"; compare the secondary length in the perfect and causative *ās-* (vs. present *as-*) with the long radical of Latin *ārēre*. For another aspect of the semantic factor "non-water" in *$ăs$-, consider the usage of the original participle of *ardēre*: *assus* means "roasted, broiled" = "cooked without water," as opposed to *ēlixus* "boiled."[24] An alternative reconstruction of *ardēre*, *$ăsi$-dhē-, is disadvantageous because there is no convincing morphological justification for an *-i-.[25] Nor will it do simply to assume

[21] For an example of a Latin form in which rhotacism precedes syncope, consider *ornus* "mountain-ash tree" < *$ŏrenos$ < *$ŏsenos$ (cf. Old Slavonic *jasenь* "ash tree"), on which see A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*[4] (Paris 1959) 469; also M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (München 1928) 92, 95, who contrasts the formal type *ornus* with the type *pōnō* (< *po-sinō). Consider also *Faler-nus* (< *$Falis$-inos; cf. *Falis-cī*).

[22] The Indo-European stative *-ē- is familiar even from the internal evidence of Latin: *calēre* "be hot," *tepēre* "be warm," *albēre* "be white," etc.

[23] For other such forms, cf. Schwyzer (n. 20) 703.

[24] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) 51f.

[25] This rejected solution figures among those entertained by F. Sommer, *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg

that *ardēre* is derived from *āridus* "dry," via syncope of -*i*-. In attested Latin, the formal and functional correlates of stative adjectives in -*idus* are stative verbs in -*ēre*, not -(*i*)*dēre*:

calidus "hot"	*calēre* "be hot"	(*calor* "heat")
tepidus "warm"	*tepēre* "be warm"	(*tepor* "warmth")
āridus "dry"	*ārēre* "be dry"	
	ardēre "be on fire"	(*ardor* "burning, ardor").

I fail to see how an adjective *āridus* meaning "dry" could motivate a derivative *ardēre* meaning "be on fire", especially when there already exists a stative verb *ārēre* meaning "be dry." Granted, a verb like *gaudēre* presupposes an original formant *$g\bar{a}wid$-, latent in the participle *gāuisus*; note, however, that there is no trace of any *$\bar{a}rid$- in the original participle of *ardēre*, which is *assus*.[26]

The semantic distinction between

ardēre "be on fire" from *$\breve{a}s$-edh-$\bar{e}$-
and
ārēre "be dry" from *$\breve{a}s$-$\bar{e}$-[27]

would be an illustration of Kuryłowicz's so-called Fourth Law of Analogy,[28] in that the more evolved form has the basic meaning and the basic form has the more evolved meaning. However, the basic form *$\breve{a}s$- may still retain the basic meaning of "burn" in the nominal derivative *ārea*, which means "ground, space free of buildings or trees." The association of this word with trees seems to be the more primordial situation, as in Ovid, *Fast.* 5.707:

> *liber ab arboribus locus est, apta area pugnae*
> the place is free of trees, an area suited for battle.

1914) 66f; note Sommer's argument that *arfet*, putative formal equivalent of *ardet*, is a textual corruption (*ibid.*).

[26] Cf. n. 24.

[27] Via *$\bar{a}s$-$\bar{e}$-.

[28] J. Kuryłowicz's "Fourth Law":

Quand à la suite d'une transformation morphologique une forme subit la différentiation, la forme nouvelle correspond à sa fonction primaire (de fondation), la forme ancienne est réservée pour la fonction secondaire (fondée).

See "La Nature des procès dits 'analogiques'", *Acta Linguistica* 5 (1945–1949) 15–37; reprinted in Kuryłowicz's *Esquisses linguistiques* (Wrocław/Kraków 1960) 66–86; also in *Readings in Linguistics* II, ed. by E. P. Hamp, F. W. Householder, R. Austerlitz (Chicago 1966) 158–174 (for "Law IV," see p. 169).

Presumably, the *ārea* was originally a place where trees and bushes had been burned clear for the purpose of farming. Compare Lithuanian *iš-dagas* "arable land," derived from the verb *dèg-ti* "burn."[29]

Besides Tocharian *as-/ās-* and Latin *ārēre*, the root *as-* (< *ϑ_2es-) is attested with specialized meanings also in Greek ἄζω "dry, scorch" and ἀζαλέος "scorching" (from *as-d-*); for even further semantic specialization, consider Czech *ozditi* (likewise from *as-d-*), a verb designating the process of drying malt. I wish to stress, however, that other plausible explanations are available for the root of ἄζω.

Besides retaining the basic notion of "burn" in the Latin nominal derivative *ārea*, the root *ăs-* also retains this notion in the Latin nominal derivative *āra* "sacrificial fireplace, altar"; attested with the same meaning are the Oscan cognate *aasai* (locative singular) and the Umbrian cognate *asa*. The Italic form *ās(s)ā-*, which I reconstruct further as *$\vartheta_2os(s)o\vartheta_2$-,[30] is directly comparable with the Hittite form *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace," from *$\vartheta_2os(s)o$-.[31]

Like Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace," Latin *āra* is regularly associated with fire, as in Virgil, *G.* 4.379:

> *adolescunt ignibus arae*
> the altars light up with the fires

The Oscan cognate of Latin *āra*, namely *āsā-*, is actually combined with an explicit adjectival derivative of *pūr-* "fire" (cognate of Greek πῦρ "fire") in the locative phrase *aasai purasiai* "on a fiery *āsā-*" (147 A 16, B 19: Vetter's edition).[32] Compare too the Umbrian sacral formula *pir ase antentu* "let him put fire on the *ăsā-*" in the *Iguvine Tables* (IIa 19f, III 22f).

3. Latin *altāria* and *adolēre*

There is a latent trace of the connection between fire and Latin *āra* in the formation *altāria* "sacrificial fireplace, altar." This neuter

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[29] For further semantic analogues, cf. H. Reichelt, "Studien zur lateinischen Laut- und Wortgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 46 (1914) 313–316; Reichelt's interpretation of *āra* (see *ibid.*) differs from the one presented here (below).

[30] For the secondary character of the lengthened radical vowel overt in Latin and Oscan, cf. the lengthening in *ārēre*; also, cf. again such *ă/ā* variations as in *ăcuō* vs. *ācer*, etc.

[31] Cf. n. 1.

[32] E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I (Heidelberg 1953).

plural substantive arose from an adjectival *alt-āri-*; the first part is traditionally connected with the root of *adoleō*, while the second is explained as the adjectival suffix *-āli-*, with dissimilation of the *-l-*.[33] Instead, I propose that *altāria* is a Bahuvrīhi compound meaning 'whose **as-* is nurtured." (Compare the incidental explanation in Paulus ex Festo 5, Lindsay's edition:[34] *altare, eo quod in illo ignis excrescit* "called *altāre* because fire develops there"; contrast the folk etymology recorded in Paulus ex Festo 27: *altaria ab altitudine dicta sunt* "called *altāria* on account of the *alt*itude.") I justify my interpretation of the *alt-* in *altāria* as the verbal adjective of *alō* "nurture" by citing the common Latin expression *ignem alere* "nurture fire" = "keep the fire going."[35] The posited Bahuvrīhi compound **al-to-* + **ăs-i-* "whose **ăs-* is nurtured" has numerous morphological parallels in Indic, of the type *hatá-mātṛ* "whose mother is killed";[36] among the Rig-Vedic examples, I single out the semantically crucial *iddhāgni* (1.83.4, 8.27.7), analyzed etymologically as **idh-to-* + **ŋgni-*[37] and meaning "whose fire is kindled." Some morphological parallels in Latin itself are such Plautine compounds as *uersipellis* "whose skin is changed" (Plaut., *Amph.* 123, where Jupiter is so described for having assumed human form; note that *uersipellis* also designates "werewolf": Pliny, *HN* 8.34; Petron. 62). Compare too the epithet *altilāneus* "whose wool is nurtured," a specialized word used in the Acts of the Arval Brethren (*a.* 183 I 24)[38] to describe sacrificial sheep; in Verg., *Aen.* 12.169f, a *sacerdōs* "priest" is sacrificing an *intonsam bidentem* "unshorn sheep" at the *flagrantibus āris* "flaming altar," and the Servian commentary adds (*ad locum*) the following explanation: *quam pontifices altilaneam uocant* "and the *pontifices* call it [= the unshorn sheep] *altilanea*." For the reconstructed notion of *lānam alere*

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[33] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) 24.

[34] *Sexti Pompei Festi de uerborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome,* ed. W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig 1913).

[35] Cf. Cicero, *Nat. D.* 3.37; Livy 21.1.4; Pliny, *HN* 2.236; Ovid, *Met.* 10.173, *Rem. Am.* 808; Tacitus, *Germ.* 45, *Ann.* 15.38, *Hist.* 3.71; etc.

[36] Cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*³ (Leipzig 1896, etc.) 446. For the phonological development from **alto-ăsi-* to *altāri-*, with deleted **-o-*, compare the types *magn-animus, rēm-ex,* etc.

[37] Whether *ṛgni-* "fire" originates from **ŋgni-* or **egni-* is irrelevant to the reconstruction of *iddhāgni-*; for the etymology of *agni-*, see Nagy, "ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος" (forthcoming).

[38] The inscriptions of the Acts of the Arval Brethren are conventionally numbered by the year, in this case A.D. 183. Until the new edition of the Acts (by H. Bloch) appears, consult the old edition by W. Henzen (Berlin 1874).

"grow wool" underlying the compound *altilāneus,* compare the
following attested notions:

> *capillum alere* "grow hair" (Pliny, *HN* 24.140)
> *pilos alere* "grow hair" (Pliny, *HN* 35.47).

As for the attested Latin notion of *ignem alere* "nurture fire" =
"keep the fire going," there is a set of Indic parallels. First, an abstract
noun derived from **al-* "nurture" has survived *passim* in the *Rig-Veda*
with the specialized sense of designating the wood with which the fire
is kindled, namely the *aráṇi-.* From the etymological point of view, the
aráṇi- is the "nurturing, nourishment" of the fire.[39] Since Latin
alō can be used in the sense of "nurture [the embryo] within the
uterus" (Varro, *Rust.* 2.4.13, Gell. 12.1.6, Paulus ex Festo 8, etc.),
it may be viewed as a comparable theme that the fire-god Agni of the
Rig-Veda is born daily from firesticks called *aráṇi-*s (3.29.2, 7.1.1,
10.7.9, etc.). Produced from the *aráṇi-*s, Agni is a new-born infant,
hard to catch (5.9.3–4).[40] An epithet of Agni is *mātariśvan-* (1.96.4,
3.5.9, 3.26.2); as the Mātariśvan, Agni "was fashioned in his mother"
(*ámimīta mātári*: 3.29.11); significantly, the meaning of *mātariśvan-*
is "swelling in the mother" (*-śvan-* from *śū-* "swell"). There are
numerous morphological parallels to the proposed derivation of
aráṇi- *"nurturing, nourishment" from **al-* "nurture," such as
Rig-Vedic *dhamáni-* "blowing" from *dham-* "blow."[41] (For an interest-
ing analogue to the semantic development of an abstract noun like
aráṇi- to the concrete notion of the wood with which fire is nurtured,
consider the post-Vedic meaning of *taráṇi-*: it is no longer "crossing"—
from *tar-* "cross" — but rather, "ship" or "sun".)[42]
    Second, there is a neuter noun *alāta-* "firebrand, coal" (attested
in the *Mahābhārata,* etc.), which can be interpreted etymologically as

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[39] The derivation of *aráṇi-* from **al-* "nurture" is communicated as a possi-
bility by R. Hauschild to M. Mayrhofer; cf. the latter's *Kurzgefasstes etymolo-
gisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg 1953ff) s.v.

[40] Cf. Nagy, "ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος" (forthcoming), on parallel thematic
material in the Hermes Myth.

[41] For a list, see J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*
II.2 (Göttingen 1954) 207.

[42] For a typological discussion (with select bibliography) of the process
whereby abstract nouns become concrete, see Nagy, *Greek Dialects and the
Transformation of an Indo-European Process* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 63–65,
68–70; cf. also A. Ernout, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin* (Paris 1954) chap. VI,
"Passage de l'abstrait au concret."

"the nurturing one," derivable from an earlier form *ala-. For morphological parallels, compare the Rig-Vedic derivative śáryāta- from śárya- "reed, arrow"; the derivational expansion of the base from -a- to -āta- is especially marked in names of plants or trees, as in āmrāta- "Spondias mangifera," derived from āmrá "mango."[43]

Third, the Indic root *al- survives in the post-Vedic word for "fire," an-ala-, which Schulze interprets as an original adjective meaning "insatiable."[44] Compare Greek ἄν-αλτος "insatiable" (ρ 228). There is ample thematic evidence, as adduced by Schulze, that Indic literature features fire as the prime insatiable element.[45] As long as a fire is kept going, it must be fed, and it always needs more: hence an-ala-, "the insatiable one."

It remains to ask whether the -αλ- of ἄναλτος should be reconstructed as *əl̥-[46] or *ə₂el-. Such Indic oppositions as a-mŕ̥-ta- vs. a-már-a- suggest that we have an underlying *n̥-əl̥-to- vs. *n̥-əel̥-o- in ἄναλτος and anala- respectively. Aside from Greek, the reconstruction *ə₂el- is based on the Italic and Celtic evidence (cf. Latin alō, Old Irish alim), since it is these language groups which preserve the phonological distinction of *a < *ə₂e vs. *e < *ə₁e and *o < *ə₃e. And yet, these same language groups transform inherited *l̥ into *al for secondary zero grade.[47] Thus Latin alō and Old Irish alim might be verbs of the type tudáti,[48] to be reconstructed as *əl-e/o- rather than *ə₂el-e/o-. Note that neither alō nor alim has an inherited perfect or aorist (cf. aluī and ro alt respectively).[49] If, then, we allow for the possibility that *al- in Greek, Italic, and Celtic originates from *əl- rather than *ə₂el-, then we are free to reconstruct *ə₁el-/*ə₁l- or *ə₃el-/*ə₃l- instead of *ə₂el-/*ə₂l-. The Germanic root al- (Gothic alan "grow," Old Norse ala "bring up, rear," Anglo-Saxon alon "nurture") may be reconstructed as *ə₃el- as well as *ə₂el-, from the purely phonological point of view.

The major advantage of positing an Indo-European root *ə₃el-/*ə₃l- instead of *ə₂el-/*ə₂l- for Latin alō and its cognates is that such a radical shape fits the causative formation *ol-éy-e/o- attested in Latin

[43] Cf. Wackernagel/Debrunner (n. 41) 269.

[44] W. Schulze, "Zufall?", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 54 (1927) 306; reprinted in Schulze's *Kleine Schriften*² (Göttingen 1966) 215f.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Via secondary zero grade: cf. Kuryłowicz (n. 12) 243.

[47] Again, cf. Kuryłowicz, *ibid.*

[48] Cf. Kuryłowicz (n. 12) 246, especially on the subject of the Latin type carpō, sarpō, scandō, scabō, etc.

[49] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) 24.

adoleō and Umbrian *uřetu*.[50] A hypothetical *$*ə_2 ol-$* here would have yielded Umbrian *$*ař-$*,[51] vs. *uř-* from *$*ə_3 ol-$*. As for Latin *adoleō*, the sequence *ol* presents a phonological problem regardless of whether we posit an earlier *$*ad-aleō$* (from *$*ə_2 ol-$*) or *ad-oleō* (from *$*ə_3 ol-$*). Word-medial *al* or *ol* should survive as *ul*: compare the borrowings *crāpula* from κραιπάλη and *anculus* from ἀμφίπολος. In archaic Latin, granted, we do see sporadic instances of *ol* for *ul* (*popolom, Hercolei*, etc.), but the consistency of the form *adoleō* and the total absence of *$*aduleō$* is puzzling. There is a similar problem with *subolēs* and *indolēs*. In fact, Leumann finds himself forced to assume morphological inter-ference with phonological change, in that *sub-olēs* "offshoot" and *ind-olēs* "inherent nature" must be derivatives of *olēscō* "increase, be nurtured."[52] In Festus 402 (Lindsay), we read

> *suboles ab olescendo, id est crescendo, ut adolescentes quoque,*
> *et adultae, et indoles dicitur. Lucretius lib. V* [4.1232]:
> > *siue uirum soboles, siue est muliebris origo*
> *Vergilius* [Ecl. 4.49]:
> > *cara deum suboles, magnum Iouis incrementum.*

If we choose to deny the existence of a non-compound *$*oleō$* in Latin,[53] then the *o* in *adoleō* (also *subolēs* and *indolēs*) remains unexplained. If we accept it, on the other hand, then the Latin *adoleō* and Umbrian *uřetu* reflect a causative shaped *$*ə_3 ol-éy-e/o-$*.

We now turn to the actual meaning of *adoleō* and *uřetu*. Although it is usually translated as "burn," Latin *adoleō* can be interpreted etymo-logically as "nurture" in terms of a causative formation. As contextual affirmation of this etymology, let us try this translation on the following passages. (Notice the consistent collocation of *adoleō* with derivatives of *$*ā̆s-$*.)

cruore captiuo adolere aras (Tac. *Ann.* 14.30)
nurture the *āra*-s with the blood of captives

igne puro altaria adolentur (Tac., *Hist.* 2.3)
the *altāria* are nurtured with pure fire

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[50] The etymology of *uřetu* as *$*olētōd$*, equivalent to Latin *(ad-)olētōd*, is suggested *en passant* by R. Thurneysen, in a review of A. Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1906), in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1907) 800.

[51] Cf. A. Ernout, *Le dialecte ombrien* (Paris 1961) 138.

[52] M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (München 1926/1928) 84.

[53] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) 23, who reject *olèscō* as a back formation despite the existence of Umbrian *uřetu*.

sanguine conspergunt aras adolentque altaria donis (Lucr. 4.1237)
they sprinkle the *āra*-s with blood and they nurture the *altāria* with offerings

castis adolet dum altaria taedis (Verg., *Aen.* 7.71)
while...nurtures the *altāria* with pure pitch-pine

(Virgil is describing a sacrifice at which Lavinia's hair seems to catch fire.)

The idea behind these expressions involving *adoleō* seems to be that the sacrificial fireplace is being "nurtured" by being kept lit with flames and, indirectly, with the material consumed by the flames. Where *ad-ol-eō* is actually combined with *alt-āria*, the *-ol-/alt-* collocation actually reflects an inherited *figura etymologica*. Compare the definition in Paulus ex Festo (5): *altaria sunt in quibus igne adoletur* "*altāria* are places where there is *adolēre* with fire." For the sense "nurture," compare the use of *adoleō* with *penātēs*, a name for the gods of one's native sacrificial fireplace:

> *flammis adolere penates* (Verg., *Aen.* 1.704)
> to nurture the Penātēs with flames

Servius explains (*ad loc.*) that the verb *adolēre* is equivalent in usage to *augēre* "increase":

> *adolere est proprie augere.*

Compare, too, the formal opposite of *adoleō*, *aboleō*, meaning "cause to atrophy, check the growth of, abolish."

In Umbrian, the causative formation **ol-éy-e/o-* is attested in the sacral formula

> *pir persklu uřetu* (*Iguvine Tables* III 12; cf. IV 30)
> with a prayer, let him nurture the fire

The imperative *uřetu* corresponds formally to Latin (*ad-*)*olētō*; for the change from *-l-* to *-ř-*, compare Umbrian *kařetu* "let him call," from **kal-* as in Latin *calāre* "call". Semantically, Umbrian *pir . . . uřetu* is comparable with the Latin combination *ignem alere*. (Note, however, the absence of **ignem adolēre*.)

In the case of Latin *adoleō*, its formal and functional connection with *alō* became eroded, so that the contextual association of *adoleō* with the notion of burning promoted a less restricted and etymologically inaccurate usage. Consequently, *adoleō* in the simple sense of "burn"

became capable of direct objects designating material meant to be
burned, as already in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.65:

> *uerbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura*
> burn fertile boughs and male frankincense.

Besides the formation **ol-éy-e/o-* of *adoleō*, which we are translating
as "nurture,' Latin has also preserved a stative-intransitive type
*ol-ē-, plus iterative suffix **-sk-e/o-*, in the verb *adolēscō* "become
nurtured, grow"; the stative-intransitive **ol-ē-* is also attested in
adolē-faciō "cause to be nurtured," which occurs specifically in the
context of burning thunderstruck trees (*arborum adolefactarum*:
Acts of the Arval Brethren *a.* 224.16). Even the verb *adolēscō* is attested
in the context of burning (Verg., *G.* 4.379):

> *adolescunt ignibus arae*
> the altars are nurtured [= light up] with the fires.

Compare also the Swedish verb *ala* "be on fire."
The participle of *adolēscō* "become nurtured, grow" had evolved
in meaning to become *adolēscēns* "adolescent," and in this function a
clearly attested formal variant *adulēscēns* has been preserved. Thus the
substantival function tolerates a phonological development which is
suppressed in the adjectival (participial) function: the regular change
of word-medial *ol* to *ul*.

4. Latin *focus*

Besides the designation of "sacrificial fireplace" as *āra*, a less
specialized designation for "fireplace" is *focus*, which is attested in
not only sacral but also domestic contexts, as in Cato, *Rust.* 75:

inde panem facito, folia subdito, in foco caldo sub testu coquito leniter
make a loaf, place leaves, and bake slowly on a warm hearth under a
crock.

(Cato is giving a recipe for making the cake called *libum*; compare also
Rust. 76.2.) Another clear example of *focus* meaning "domestic fire-
place, hearth" is *Rust.* 143.2:

*munda siet. uillam conuersam mundeque habeat. focum purum circumuersum
cotidie priusquam cubitum eat habeat*
she [= the *uilica* "housekeeper"] must be neat, and keep the farmstead
neat and clean; she must clean and tidy the hearth every night before
she goes to bed.

As for the sacral uses of the *focus*, compare the testimony of Varro (*apud* Servius Auctus, on *Aen.* 3.134):

sane Varro rerum diuinarum refert inter sacratas aras focos quoque sacrari solere, ut in Capitolio Ioui Iunoni Mineruae, nec minus in plurimis urbibus oppidisque, et id tam publice quam priuatim solere fieri. . . . nec licere uel priuata uel publica sacra sine foco fieri. quod hic ostendit poeta

indeed, Varro (Rerum Diuinarum) reports that amidst the *ārae* that are consecrated, *focī* too are regularly consecrated, as in the Capitolium to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; likewise in most cities and towns; and that this is regularly done both publicly and privately; . . . and that it is not allowed to perform public or private sacrifices without a *focus*.

Varro's report on the use of the *focus* in the Capitolium can be directly linked with the mention of the derivative word *foculus* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren, year A.D. 87: the setting is *in Capitolio* (*a.* 87 I 2), and the *promagister* of the Brethren is presiding (I 2ff); after the preliminary sacral proceedings (I 2–7), "on the same day AND IN THE SAME PLACE" (I 18: *eodem die ibidem in area*), the same *promagister* does the following (I 19):

ture et uino in igne in foculo fecit

he made a sacrifice with incense and wine on the fire on the *foculus*.

In the Acts of the Arval Brethren, the uses of the *āra* and the *foculus*, both located *in luco* "in the grove," are in complementary distribution when it comes to the sacrifice of pigs and cows: the *porcae piāculārēs* are regularly immolated at the *āra* and the *uacca honorāria*, at the *foculus*: *aa.* 90.49f, Domitian-era C I 2–5, 105 II 7–9, 118 I 59–62, 120.36f, 155.32–34, M. Aurelius-era E 1–2, 183 II 21f, 218 a 17–19, 240 (= Dessau 9522) II 4. Compare the statement of Valerius Maximus (1.6.9):

quae prima hostia ante foculum cecidit

the first sacrificial animal which fell before the *foculus*.

Unlike the *āra*, the *focus/foculus* is optionally movable,[54] as the following passages attest:

Ovid, *Fast.* 2.542

adde preces positis et sua uerba focis

add prayers and the appropriate words at the *focī* which are set down

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[54] For a standard résumé from an abidingly useful manual, cf. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (München 1912) 475.

Ovid, *Fast.* 4.334

posito tura dedere foco
a *focus* was set down and they offered incense

(Before sailing on, the retinue of Claudia Quinta pauses to sacrifice a heifer.)
Verg., *Aen.* 12.285

crateras focosque ferunt
they take away the craters and the *focī*

Pliny, *HN* 22.11

praetextatum immolasse ad tibicinem foculo posito
to make an immolation while wearing the *praetexta*, to the accompaniment of a flute-player, with a *foculus* set down

Cicero, *Dom.* 123

bona . . . consecrauit foculo posito in rostris adhibitoque tibicine
he consecrated the possessions . . ., with a *foculus* set down at the *rostra* and with a flute-player summoned

Cicero, *Dom.* 124

tu . . . capite uelato . . . foculo posito bona . . . consecrasti
you consecrated the possessions . . . with head veiled and with a *foculus* set down

Varro, *Ling.* 6.14

Liberalia dicta, quod per totum oppidum eo die sedent sacerdotes Liberi anus edera coronatae cum libis et foculo pro emptore sacrificantes
Festival of Liber: throughout the town on that day, the priestesses of Liber, old women wearing ivy on their heads, sit with cakes and a *foculus*, and they sacrifice [the cakes] for any purchaser.

The nature of the *focus/foculus* is distinctly *ad hoc*. In Cato's *De Re Rustica*, for example, the *foculus* is catalogued simply as a rustic utensil (11.4, 16.3). Any place or thing on which a fire is started qualifies as a *focus*; compare this summary in the Servian tradition (on *Aen.* 12.118):

quidquid ignem fouet,[55] *focus uocatur, siue ara sit siue quid aliud in quo ignis fouetur*

[55] The word *fouet* here implies an etymological interpretation of *focus*; but note the lengthened *o* in *fōcula*, derivative of *foueō*, vs. the short *o* in *fŏculus*, derivative of *focus*. For a discussion, see Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) s.v. *foueō*.

whatever fosters a fire is called a *focus*, whether it be an *āra* or anything else in which fire is fostered

Such a wide range of applications is also illustrated by the semantic evolution of Latin *focus* into the Romance word for "fire" itself, as in French *feu*, Spanish *fuego*, etc.

5. Umbrian *ahti-* and *aso-*

Corresponding to Latin *focus*, the Umbrian word for "movable fireplace" is *ahti-*,[56] which is etymologically an abstract noun **ag-ti-* meaning "carrying" (from a verb cognate with Latin *agō, agere*); for the form and the semantics, compare Latin *uectis* "bolt, lever," which is likewise an original abstract noun **wegh-ti-* "carrying" (from the verb attested as *uehō, uehere*). The usage of the word *ahti-* as "movable fireplace" is not necessarily a feature of the Umbrian language in general: rather, it is a specialized feature of the sacral texts particular to the Atiedian Brethren of Iguvium, as recorded in the set of inscriptions known as the *Iguvine Tables*. The *ahti-* is central to the religious life of Iguvium, as is evident from the rites described in *Iguvine Tables* III 1ff. After *pir* "fire" is kindled on the way leading *arven* "to the field" (lines 11f), and after this fire is later placed *ase* "on the altar" which is *vuke* "in the grove" (lines 21f), then a sacrifice is made *iuvepatre* "to Jupiter" at the right side of the altar (lines 22f) on behalf of the following (lines 23f):

> *fratrusper atiieřies* "for the Atiedian Brethren"
> *ahtisper eikvasatis* "for the *ahti*-s *eikvasatis*"
> *tutape iiuvina*   "for the people of Iguvium"
> *trefiper iiuvina*   "for the tribe of Iguvium."

(Compare this Umbrian collocation of *vuke*, *ase*, and *ahti-* with the Latin collocation of *in luco*, *in ara*, and *in foculo* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren.)[57]

The ablative plural *ahtis* is combined here with the postposition *-per*, which is parallel to the Latin preposition *prō* "for, on behalf of." This combination of *ahti-* and *-per* is semantically parallel to the Latin phrase *prō ārīs focisque*, as in the following examples:

[56] For my interpretation of *ahti-*, I have been guided by the critical discussion of textual evidence in G. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae* (Roma 1937) 267f, 385f; also J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (Baltimore 1959) 165.
[57] Cf. above.

*sibi pro aris focisque et deum templis ac solo in quo nati essent dimicandum
fore* (Livy 5.30.1)

that they were going to have to fight it out on behalf of the *ārae&focī*,
the sacred precincts of the gods, and the soil on which they were born

pro patria pro liberis pro aris atque focis suis cernere (Sall., *Cat.* 59.5)

to fight it out on behalf of the *patria*, the household-members, and the
ārae&focī.

Compare also the highly emotional tone of Cicero's references to
ārae&focī: *Cat.* 4.24; *Dom.* 106, 143; *Pis.* 91; *Sest.* 90; etc.

The sacral importance of the movable fireplace in Umbrian society
is apparent not only from the euphemistically abstract etymology of
ahti- and from the importance of the *ahti-* in the hierarchy just quoted
from *Iguvine Tables* III 23f; it is apparent also from the usage of the
word in the Atiedian fire ceremony. The *Iguvine Tables* contain two
versions of this ceremony, one written in the native Umbrian alphabet
(Ib 10–16), the other, in the Latin alphabet (VIb 48–53). A careful
study of the parallel texts reveals several new details about the sacri-
ficial fireplace in Italic ritual. For the sake of convenience, the texts
are divided here into sections A′ to H′ (native alphabet) and A to H
(Latin alphabet), on the basis of inherent divisions in subject-matter.[58]

	VIb 48–53		Ib 10–16
A	*pone poplo afero heries* when he wishes to perform a lustration of the people,	A′	**pune puplum aferum heries** when you wish to perform a lustration of the people,
B	*avif aseriato etu* he shall go and observe the birds . . .	B′	**avef anzeriatu etu** go and observe the birds . . .
Ca	*ape angla combifianšiust* when he has announced the *angla*	C′	**pune kuvurtus** when you have returned
Cb	*perca arsmatiam anouihimu* he shall put on the *perca arsmatia*		
Da	*cringatro hatu* he shall hold the *cringatro*	D′	**krenkatrum hatu** hold the **krenkatrum**
Db	*destrame scapla anouihimu* he shall put it on the right shoulder		

[58] Boldface distinguishes native letters from Latin letters, which are presented
in italics.

VIb 48–53	Ib 10–16
E *pir endendu*	E′ **enumek pir ahtimem ententu**
he shall place fire	then place fire in the **ahti-**
Fa *pone esonome ferar pufe pir entelust*	F′ **pune pir entelus ahtimem**
when that in which he has placed the fire is brought to the sacrifice	when you have placed the fire in the **ahti-**
Fb *ere fertu poe perca arsmatiam habiest*	
he who has the *perca arsmatia* shall carry it	
Fc *erihont aso destre onse fertu*	
the same shall carry the *aso* on his right shoulder ...	
G *ennom stiplatu parfa desua*	G′ **enumek steplatu parfam tesvam**
then he shall pronounce a *parfa* on the right	then pronounce a **parfa** on the right
H *seso tote iiouine*	H′ **tefe tute ikuvine**
for himself and for the people of Iguvium	for yourself and for the people of Iguvium

Now follows the banishment ritual at Acedonia:

ape acesoniame ... benust	**pune menes akeřuniamem**
.when he has come to Acedonia ...	when you come to Acedonia ...

The expression *poe perca arsmatiam habiest* "he who has the *perca arsmatia*" (Fb = VIb 50) is a tabu periphrasis occurring elsewhere too (VIb 53, 63; VIIa 46, 51) to designate the *arsfertur*/**ařfertur**, who is the chief sacrificer in the cult of the Atiedian Brethren (VIa 2, etc.). Henceforth, he will be designated "Adfertor," the latinized equivalent of the Umbrian title. The *perca* of the Adfertor is something that he wears, as is evident from the use of *perca* with *anouihimu* "put on, wear" (Cb and Db, = VIb 49) and from its association with *ponisiater*/**puniçate** (VIb 51/Ib 15), a word apparently related to Latin *pūniceus* "dyed with purple."[59] In the fire ceremony described at Ib 10ff, two officials called **prinuvatu** are supposed to accompany the Adfertor, and they are supposed to have **perkaf... puniçate**

[59] See Ernout (n. 51) 126.

(Ib 15). Likewise, in the fire ceremony described at VIb 48ff, two *prinuatur* are supposed to accompany the Adfertor, and they are supposed to have *perca...ponisiater* (VIb 51); meanwhile, the Adfertor himself has *perca arsmatiam* (VIb 49, 50). The periphrasis designating the Adfertor as "he who has the *perca arsmatia*" is restricted to those parts of the Iguvine Tables which are written in the Latin alphabet; from those parts written in the native alphabet, the identity of the **ařfertur** with this man "who has the *perca arsmatia*" (*poe perca arsmatiam habiest*) becomes obvious: in Ib 41f (native alphabet), it is the **ařfertur** who chases a sacrificial heifer while the two **prinuvatu** chase two; in VIIa 51f (Latin alphabet), the sacrificial heifers are chased by *poe perca arsmatiam habiest* "he who has the *perca arsmatia*" and the *prinuatur*.

In the parallel texts for the fire ceremony presently under consideration, the tabu periphrasis *poe perca arsmatiam habiest* in the Latin alphabet version (A–H) cannot be contrasted directly with a counterpart in the native alphabet version (A'–H'), since in one case the Adfertor is instructed in the grammatical third person (A–H), while in the other, he is instructed in the second person (A'–H'). There is, however, a direct contrast in the way the two texts refer to the movable fireplace: version A–H, which shows a reluctance to name the chief sacrificer of the Atiedian Brethren by title, also shows a reluctance to use the Brethren's word *ahti-* (= "*focus*" = "movable fireplace"). Contrast sections E and E':

E	*pir endendu* he shall place fire	E'	**enumek pir ahtimem en-tentu** then place fire in the **ahti-**

Notice too the tabu periphrasis *pufe pir entelust*, in place of the word **ahti-**:

Fa   *pone esonome ferar pufe pir entelust*
     when that in which he has placed the fire is brought to the sacrifice

instead of

     when the *ahti-* is brought to the sacrifice

In the version with Latin letters, then, specific words dealing with the cult officers and cult objects of the Atiedian Brethren are treated with special caution; perhaps the same factor of caution explains the regular use of the third person in instructing the Atiedian sacrificers, as opposed to the second person in the version with native letters.

Besides being more circumspect, the instructions in version A–H are also more precise and detailed than in version A'–H'. Greater detail may imply less familiarity with the prescribed way of doing things: consider section Db, where it is specified that the sacrificer must place the garment *cringatro* on his right shoulder; in section D', by contrast, it had sufficed to prescribe that the sacrificer must hold the **krenkatrum**. (This garment *cringatro*/**krenkatrum** is comparable to the Latin *cinctus* or *cingulum*.) Presumably, the stark prescription of section D' was enough of a reminder about what to do next; section Da, by contrast, also prescribes that the sacrificer must hold the *cringatro*, but further specification has to follow in Db about what to do with it, namely, to put it on. The reason for putting the *cringatro* specifically on the right shoulder becomes apparent later: the sacrificer who puts on the *cringatro*/**krenkatrum** is none other than the *arsfertur*/**ařfertur** "Adfertor" (cf. Cb: the same sacrificer is putting on the *perca arsmatiam*). The Adfertor then proceeds to place fire in the **ahti-** "movable fireplace" (cf. E/E', Fa/F'), which at that point "is brought to the sacrifice" (*esonome ferar*: Fa). The one who brings the **ahti-** to the sacrifice is the Adfertor himself (cf. Fb), and he carries it on his right shoulder (cf. Fc). It appears, therefore, that the garment called *cringatro*/**krenkatrum** may have served to shield the Adfertor's right shoulder from the heat of the **ahti-** which he was supposed to carry. Presumably, this **ahti-** was some kind of brazier: compare the brazen *cribrum* used by the Vestal Virgins as a movable fireplace (Paulus ex Festo 94):

ignis Vestae si quando interstinctus esset, uirgines uerberibus adficiebantur a pontifice, quibus mos erat tabulam felicis materiae tamdiu terebrare, quousque exceptum ignem cribro aeneo uirgo in aedem ferret

whenever the fire of Vesta was interrupted, the Virgins were beaten by the *pontifex*; their custom was to bore a *tabula* of *fēlix māteria* until a fire could be taken and brought in a brazen *cribrum* to the sanctuary by a Virgin.

COMMENTARY:

Compare the usage of *tabula* here with the following instruction in Iguvine Tables IIb 12: **tafle e pir fertu** "carry the fire there on a *tafla*," where *tafla* is the equivalent of Latin *tabula* "board." Note too that the wood used to kindle the fire is called *māteria*; the form of this noun suggests that it is derived from *māter* "mother." In addition, the *māteria* is described with the word *fēlix*, an adjective designating

fertility. Immediately comparable in theme is the expression *ignem alere* "nurture fire".[60]

In the same set of instructions which studiously avoids use of the Atiedian word *ahti-* to designate "movable fireplace" (E–F), there does occur a synonym, spelled *aso*:

Fc   *erihont aso destre onse fertu*

> the same [= the Adfertor] shall carry the *aso* on his right shoulder.

Because of the specification of the right shoulder in section Fc, what is not directly mentioned by name in Fa (*pufe pir entelust* "that in which he has placed the fire") has to be mentioned again, and this time it is done not by periphrasis but by use of an equivalent word for "movable fireplace." This Umbrian word *aso* is apparently not part of the Atiedian sacral vocabulary, and it is probably for this reason that it could be written out in the tabu-conscious ritual instructions of VIb 48–53, whereas *ahti-* was not mentioned directly but by periphrasis.[61] Just as Umbrian *asa* (IIa 38, etc.) comes from *$\ddot{a}ss\bar{a}$-, so also *aso* (VIb 50) from *$\ddot{a}sso$-; minus gemination, this form *aso- can be reconstructed as *∂_2os-o-: in other words, it is the cognate of Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace."

6. The meaning of Hittite *ḫaš-/ḫašša-/ḫaššu-* from the standpoint of Italic myth and ritual

Among the nominal reflexes of the Indo-European root *∂_2es-, our survey has shown that the least common denominator from the semantic standpoint is the notion of "fireplace":

Hittite *ḫašša-*	sacrificial fireplace
Indic *ấsa-*	ashes
Old Icelandic *arinn*, etc.	sacrificial fireplace
German *Esse*, etc.	smith's fireplace
English *ashes*, etc.	ashes
Greek ἀσβόλη, ἄσβολος	soot
Latin *āra, altāria*	sacrificial fireplace, altar
Oscan *aasa-*	sacrificial fireplace, altar
Umbrian *asa*	sacrificial fireplace, altar
Umbrian *aso*	sacrificial fireplace (movable)

[60] Compare the discussion of Agni Mātariśvan *supra*; note too that the enclosure of the Indic Gārhapatya "domestic fireplace" is actually called the *yóni-* "female genitalia" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.1.1.12). For more on Agni Mātariśvan, see Nagy, "ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος" (forthcoming).

[61] This interpretation of Umbrian *aso* is offered as an alternative to the traditional one: *aso* = "roast meat" or the like (cf. Latin *assum*). The con-

The semantically anomalous reflexes of *əₐes-* remain the Hittite verb *ḫaš-* "beget" and substantive *ḫaššu-* "king." It may be a pertinent factor that the formula which the *ḫaššu-* uses in referring to himself is *ᵈUTUˢⁱ* "my sun," as in the Autobiography of King Ḫattušiliš III (*passim*). This usage seems distinctly Hittite, in that *ŠAMŠI* "my sun"+third person singular is not used in Akkadian to designate "ego"+first person. In the Royal Funerary Ritual of the Hittites, which features the cremation of the *ḫaššu-* "king" and offerings at the *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace" (*passim*), one of the prime recipients of these offerings is the great state god *ᵈUTU* "sun"; after the *ḫaššu-* has died, he joins this very god *ᵈUTU*.[62] In fact, after the *ḫaššu-* has died, he himself becomes a god.[63] This belief also seems distinctly Hittite, as we may see from the attenuated Akkadian translation of the following statement by King Muršiliš II:

ABUYA DINGIR*ᴸᴵᴹ-iš kišat*

[when] my father became a god.

Contrast the parallel Akkadian version:

ABUYA ARKI ŠIMTIŠU KI ILLIKU

when my father went to his destiny.[64]

Compare also the following prayer:[64]

n[u-?]ka-ru-ú ma-aḫ-ḫa-an an-na-za ŠÀ-*za ḫa-aš-ša-[a]n-za e-šu-un*
n[u-m]u-kán DINGIR-*YA a-ap-pa a-pu-u-un* ZI-*an an-da ta-a-i*
[nu-m]u tu-el ŠA DINGIR-*YA* ZI-*KA am-mu-uk* [   ] IGI-*an-da*
[a]t-ta-aš-ma-aš an-na-aš ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš × × ×
[Z]I*ᴴᴵ·ᴬ ki-ša-an-ta-ru*

already when I was begotten [*ḫaš-*] from the inside of my mother,
then you, my god, put this animus [ZI = *ištanza-*] in for me;
and may your divine *animus* become for me the *animī*
of my father, mother, and *gēns*.

Another pertinent factor has already been mentioned: that the kindling of the sun at dawn is parallel to the kindling of the sacrificial fire at dawn. This parallelism is explicit in the ritual evidence of the

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textual disadvantages of the latter explanation are apparent from the discussion by Devoto (n. 56) 268f and Ernout (n. 51) 111.

[62] The texts of the Royal Funerary Ritual have been edited by H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Berlin 1958). For a survey of the specific passages dealing with the afterlife of the king, see Otten 113, 119f.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] For text, commentary, and parallels, see Otten 123f.

Rig-Veda and implicit in the linguistic evidence of Indo-European, if indeed the macrocosm of dawn and the microcosm of the sacrificial fireplace are designated with variants of the same root:

theme I *$ə_2eu$-s- as in Greek αὔως/ἠώς/ἕως and Latin *aurōra*: "dawn"
theme II *$ə_2w$-es- as in Greek ἑστία and *Vesta*: "(goddess of) sacrificial fireplace."

If the Hittite *ḫaššu-* "king" considers his identity to be that of the sun, it follows that the begetting of a king is parallel to the kindling of the sun; in that case, the word *ḫaš-* "beget" is actually in thematic connection with *ḫaššu-* "king." From the etymological point of view, *ḫaš-* may well be translated as "kindle, light up." For an example of the reverse in semantic development, consider English *kindle*, which had meant "beget" (Middle English), then "set on fire"; also Old Icelandic *kveikja* "beget, kindle" (the noun *kveika* means "fuel"). Compare too the Latin substantive *adulēscēns/adolēscēns* "youth," the participial origin of which reveals a built-in metaphor: "becoming nurtured as fire becomes nurtured." [65]
Etymological précis:

*$ə_2es$-
ḫaš- "beget" (via "kindle, light up")
ḫaššu- "king" (via "one who is lit up")
ḫašša- "sacrificial fireplace" (via "lighting up"); also *aso, āra*, etc.

*$ə_2wes$-
ḫuiš- "live" (via "be lit up")
ḫuišu- "alive" (via "lit up")
ἑστία "domestic fireplace" (via "lighting up")
Vesta "goddess of the domestic fireplace" (via "lighting up")
vas- "shine, be lit up"

*$ə_2eus$-
αὔως/ἠώς/ἕως "dawn" (via "lighting up")
aurōra "dawn" (via "lighting up")

*$ə_2us$-
uṣás- "dawn" (via "lighting up")

The etymological interpretation of *ḫaššu-* as "one who is lit up" is also suggested by a thematic analogue in an Italic myth involving

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[65] Cf. *supra*; also see Nagy, "ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος" (forthcoming).

ritual fire. The protagonist of this myth is the Roman king Servius
Tullius, whom Dumézil has singled out as representing the features
of the ideal king from the Indo-European standpoint.[66] If it is justified
to claim that Latin *āra* is related to Hittite *ḫašša-* "sacrificial fireplace"
and that Latin *focus* is the functional correlate of the *āra*, then we
should compare the following report by Pliny about the myth of
Servius Tullius and the *focus* (*HN* 36.204):[67]

non praeteribo et unum foci exemplum Romanis litteris clarum: Tarquinio
Prisco regnante tradunt repente in foco eius comparuisse genitale e cinere
masculi sexus eamque, quae insederat ibi, Tanaquilis reginae ancillam Ocresiam
captiuam consurrexisse grauidam; ita Seruium Tullium natum, qui regno
successit; inde et in regia cubanti ei puero caput arsisse, creditumque Laris
familiaris filium; ob id Compitalia ludos Laribus primum instituisse

I will not pass over a famous example of the *focus* in Roman literature.
In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, they say that there suddenly appeared
in his *focus* a genital organ of male sex out of the cinder, and that it
impregnated Ocresia, an enslaved handmaiden (of Queen Tanaquil),
who had sat there; thus was Servius Tullius born, and he succeeded to
the kingship. When he was a boy sleeping in the palace, his head caught
fire, and he was believed to be the son of the *Lār familiāris*; for this
reason he was the first to institute the Compitalia Games for the *Lārēs*

Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 6.625:

> *namque pater Tulli Volcanus, Ocresia mater*
> *praesignis facie Corniculana fuit.*
> *hanc secum Tanaquil sacris de more peractis*
> *iussit in ornatum fundere uina focum.*
> *hic inter cineres obsceni forma uirilis*
> *aut fuit aut uisa est, sed fuit illa magis.*
> *iussa foco captiua sedet. conceptus ab illa*
> *Seruius a caelo semina gentis habet.*
> *signa dedit genitor tunc cum caput igne corusco*
> *contigit, inque comis flammeus arsit apex.*

For the father of Tullius was Vulcan, and Ocresia of
Corniculum, distinguished in beauty, was his mother.
When the sacred rites were traditionally enacted,
Tanaquil ordered her to pour wine into the ornate *focus*.
At this point, among the cinders, there was, or seemed to
be, the male form of a phallus. More likely there was one.

[66] G. Dumézil, *Les Mythes romains* II: *Servius et la fortune, essai sur la*
fonction sociale de louange et de blâme et sur les éléments indo-européens du cens
romain (Paris 1943).

[67] Cf. *HN* 2.241; also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.2.1ff.

> Ordered to do so, the slave girl sat at the *focus*. Conceived
> by her, Servius has the seeds of his *gēns* from the sky.
> His father gave a sign, at the time when he touched his
> head with flashing fire, and a flame lit up in his hair.

In this remarkable passage, the preoccupation of the myth with a
ritual context is especially clear. There is also a lengthy account of the
same myth in Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.2.1–4. Romulus himself was
begotten in the same manner, according to a myth recorded by Plu-
tarch (*Rom.* 2.7); likewise Caecilius, founder of Praeneste and ancestor
of the distinguished *gēns* Caecilia (Servius on *Aen.* 7.678).[68] Like the
Hittite *ḫaššu-*, the Italic king *par excellence* is literally "lit up."[69]

APPENDIX

Avestan *sairye.hya-*, Latin *fimus*

In Avestan, the root *$*ə_2es$- is attested as the component *$*ah-(ya-)$*
in the compounding of *sairya-* plus *$*ahya-$ = *sairye.hya-*. The word
sairya- designates the dried manure used as a proper funerary resting-
place for the corpse, *Vendidad* 8.8; the word *sairye.hya-* is attested
only once, *Vendidad* 8.83. It has been traditionally interpreted to mean
"apparatus for drying manure,"[70] with the semantic development of
$*ah-$ corresponding to that of Latin *ārēre* "be dry," Tocharian *as-*
"dry," etc. I propose an alternative explanation of *sairye.hya-*: "appar-
atus for burning manure."

According to Zoroastrian precepts, exposition is the proper way to
dispose of a corpse, rather than cremation or inhumation (*Vendidad* 8
passim). The custom of cremation is singled out as an abomination,
and there are elaborate protective rituals for the true believer to follow
in the event that he should come upon *ātrəm nasupākəm* "a corpse-
cooking fire" (*Vendidad* 8.73ff). Such clear provisions for the eventu-
ality of discovering the practice of cremation suggest that this funerary
procedure, though forbidden by the Zoroastrian norm, was widespread.

In one instance, the people of an entire region are singled out for
traces of this aberration from orthodoxy: in the first book of the anti-

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[68] Cf. A. Brelich, *Vesta* (Zürich 1949) 70, 96–100; also G. Dumézil, *La
Religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1966) 69 note 1, 320f, who adduces Indic
parallels; for example, the war-god Kārttikeya is begotten by the fire-god
Agni in the Gārhapatya "domestic fireplace" (*Mahābhārata* 3.14.291f).

[69] In light of this thematic evidence, cf. perhaps Greek "bright" (cf. Hesy-
chios s.vv. φαλός, φαλύνει) and φαλλός (via expressive gemination?).

[70] Cf. Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1904) 1565.

Daēva tract known as the Vendidad, the Zoroastrian religious community is represented by sixteen social regions, and from among these, the thirteenth best region, called Čaxra "The Wheel," is described as being afflicted with the practice of "corpse-cooking" (*Vendidad* 1.16). Compare these other aberrations from Zoroastrian orthodoxy:

> The tenth best region, called Harax^{v}aitī (= Harahuvatī of the Behistun Inscription, = Arachosia) is afflicted with the practice of corpse-burying (*Vendidad* 1.12)
> The sixth best region, called Harōiva (= Old Persian Haraiva, = latter-day Herāt) is afflicted with the practice of kcening or funeral dirges (*Vendidad* 1.8: *sraskəmča driwikāča* "weeping and howling").

At the end of *Vendidad* 1 (i.e., at *Vendidad* 1.20), it is pointed out that there are other regions in the Zoroastrian community besides the sixteen that were listed. As for the choice of the sixteen regions and their arrangement in descending order of value, the desired effect is to symbolize the geographical spread of Zoroastrian orthodoxy; from Nyberg's survey of those regions which can be identified,[71] the following pattern emerges:

16th: extreme North	Rahā-Land
vs.	
15th: extreme South	Seven-Hindu-Land = Indus Valley
14th: extreme East	Varəna, along Jaxartes River
vs.	
13th: ?	Čaxra "The Wheel"
12th: extreme West	Raga = Rhagae
vs.	
11th: extreme East	Haētumant = Etymander
10th: extreme East	Harax^{v}aitī = Arachosia
vs.	
9th: extreme West	Vəhrkāna = Hyrcania.

[71] H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig 1938) 313–327; in the following discussion, I rely heavily on Nyberg's geographical researches, though I abstain from his controversial arguments about putative cross-references to the people of Čaxra in the Avesta (see especially page 321).

(The term "extreme" here is of course relative to the vantage point of *Vendidad* 1.) The preoccupation of this arrangement is not with cataloguing areas but with expressing the vast extent of Zoroastrian influence. If Čaxra too is to be located in the southern coastal region of the Caspian Sea, as is definitely the case for Rhagae and Hyrcania, then the western position of Čaxra/Rhagae/Hyrcania results in the following symmetry in the sequence 14th–9th: EW WE EW, in the to-and-fro style of *boustrophedon*.[72]

At the top of the list in Vendidad 1 are those regions which were the first to accept Zoroastrian orthodoxy:

1st:	Airyanəm Vaējah	
2nd:	Suγδa = Sogdiana	southeast of Chorasmia
3rd:	Mouru = Margiana	south of Chorasmia
4th:	Bāxδī = Bactriana	east of Margiana
5th:	Nisāya	between Margiana and Bactriana
6th:	Harōiva = Arīa	south of Margiana.

As Nyberg has argued,[73] the best Zoroastrian region of all, "the Aryan Vaējah," is none other than Xᵛārizm = Chorasmia, homeland of Zaraθuštra = Zoroaster, the region where the river Dāityā (= Oxus) empties into the Aral Sea. Elsewhere too, the Avesta connects Zaraθuštra with "the Aryan Vaējah" (*Yašt* 5.17f, 104), and it was at the river Dāityā that Zaraθuštra made sacrifice (*Yašt* 5.104, 15.2). The six regions heading the list of *Vendidad* 1 are contiguous with each other, located in East and Northeast Iran; they are the nucleus of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, from where it spread as far westward as Hyrcania, Rhagae, and Čaxra (at the time when Vendidad 1 was composed). In the West Iranian area south of the Caspian Sea, where Hyrcania and Rhagae are definitely located, there was relatively abundant wood in contrast to the steppes of East Iran.[74] On the steppes of Central Asia in general, of which East Iran forms a part, the poorly wooded topography makes cremation impractical, and it is no coincidence that the alternative custom of exposition is a characteristic feature of the peoples living in the Central Asiatic steppes, notably the Mongols.[75]

Since the nucleus of Zoroastrian orthodoxy is to be located in the East Iranian steppes, it follows that the Zoroastrian custom of exposi-

[72] Cf. Nyberg 324f, with other parallels in Iranian geographical symbolism via *boustrophedon* motifs.

[73] Nyberg 326.

[74] Nyberg 321f.

[75] Nyberg 310.

tion was an areal feature acquired by the East Iranians from their Central Asiatic neighbors. As Zoroastrian orthodoxy spread to the West, the custom of exposition came into conflict with that of crema- tion, such as practiced by the people of Čaxra. The specific mention of "corpse-cooking" as the plague of Čaxra (*Vendidad* 1.16) suggests that the inhabitants clung to an older custom which was difficult to uproot.[76] Given the regular Indic custom of cremation (cf. *Rig-Veda* 10.16, etc.),[77] the Iranian attestations of non-Zoroastrian "corpse- cooking" suggest an Indo-Iranian pedigree for cremation as opposed to exposition.

There is also direct evidence that the Zoroastrian custom of exposi- tion was generally preceded by that of cremation: the actual Zoroastrian word designating the place built for exposing the corpse is *daxma* (*Vendidad* 5.14, 8.2), which from the etymological point of view means "burning" (from verb *dag-* "burn," as attested in *Yasna* 71.8, etc.). In other words, the original funeral pyre was converted into the place of exposition without even so much as changing its inherited designa- tion. There are actual instances where the word *daxma* applies to a place of cremation: in *Vendidad* 7.49–58 (cf. also 3.13), such an illegal *daxma* is described as a place frequented by Daēva-s, fiends who are the primordial enemies of Ahura, head of the pantheon; in line with the opprobrium of "corpse-cooking," the Daēva-s are described as actually devouring the roasted dead (*Vendidad* 7.55).

The fact that Zoroastrian teaching holds cremation to be an abomina- tion has a bearing on the context of *sairye.hya-* in *Vendidad* 8.83. In *Vendidad* 8.81–96, there is a catalogue of merits to be gained by bringing various kinds of fire to the central fire of purification; the more impure the fire, the greater the merit.[78] At the head of the list is "corpse- cooking fire" (*Vendidad* 8.81):

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[76] Nyberg 321f.

[77] Cf. W. Caland, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (Amster- dam 1896).

[78] For a discussion of this rite from the standpoint of the Zoroastrian Parsees, cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1962) 81ff. Note especially the following statement (page 82):

> On se demande, puisque le but final de toutes ces manipulations est d'obtenir un feu aussi pur que possible, pourquoi il faut y employer, entre autres, le feu le plus impur qui se puisse concevoir: celui qui a brûlé un cadavre. C'est sans doute parce qu'il s'agit *aussi* de délivrer le feu de sa souillure, de le *sauver*. Ceci nous rappelle le processus de délivrance de la lumière chez les Manichéens, et c'en est, peut-être, le modèle primitif.

yō ātrəm nasupākəm dāitīm gātūm avi ava. baraiti

who brings corpse-cooking fire to the prescribed place . . .

(his merit: 10,000 firebrands).
   Second (*Vendidad* 8.82):

yō ātrəm uruzdipākəm dāitīm avi ava. baraiti

who brings fluid-cooking fire to the prescribed place . . .

(his merit: 1,000 firebrands; the "fluid" here is from the body: Dēnkart 8.46 explains *hixr pāk* "excrement-cooking").[79]
   Third (*Vendidad* 8.83):

yō ātrəm sairye. hyaṯ hača dāitīm gātūm avi ava. baraiti

who brings fire from the *sairye. hya-* to the prescribed place . . .

(his merit: 500 firebrands).
From then on, the catalogue lists fires destined for secular uses, such as the fire from a potter's fireplace (8.84), from a goldsmith's fireplace (8.87), from a baker's fireplace (8.91), etc. Last on the list is the fire which is easiest to bring, namely, "from the nearest place" (8.96):

yō ātrəm nazdištat hača dāitīm gātūm avi ava. baraiti

who brings fire from the nearest place to the prescribed place . . .

(his merit: 10 firebrands).
The essential question remains: why does fire from the *sairye.hya-* rank so high in degree of abomination that it should be listed directly after fire used for burning the body or discharge from the body? The answer may well be concealed in the use of *sairya-* "manure" as a resting-place for the corpse (*Vendidad* 8.8):

ava hē gātūm barayən ātryehe vā sairyehe vā

they should bring for him [= the corpse] as a place either ashes or
    manure.

The context shows that this practice follows the dictates of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, just like the practice of exposing the corpse in the *daxma*. Yet the *daxma* was originally the place of cremation, not exposition. Similarly, *sairya-* "manure" may have been originally the fuel or an ingredient in the fuel used for cremation. In the Zoroastrian orthodoxy, use of the term *daxma* was retained but converted to designate the place of exposition rather than cremation. Similarly, any use of manure

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[79] Cf. Bartholomae (n. 70) 1533.

as fuel for cremating the corpse would have to be converted: the body is to be laid out on manure, but neither the body nor the manure may be burned. Note that the custom of using manure as an ingredient for cremation has survived in latter-day India.[80] Note, too, that manure is also the common domestic fuel in latter-day India. If the use of manure as fuel is of Indo-Iranian origin, then Avestan *sairye.hya-* may have designated simply a place where manure was burned. In fact, the custom of burning manure may be of Indo-European origin: consider Latin *fimus* "manure," seemingly derived from -*fiō* as in *suffiō* "fumigate" (Cato, *Rust.* 113.1) or "burn for the purpose of fumigation" (Pliny, *HN* 28.10.42, etc.); compare the **dhwĭ-* of *suffiō* with the **dhū-* of *fūmus* "smoke."[81] As for *fūmigō* "fumigate," compare the formation of *pūrgō*, from an earlier *pūrigō* as in Plaut., *Miles* 177. Following Thurneysen,[82] I interpret *pūrgō/pūrigō* as derived from an underlying expression **pūr agere* "carry fire"; compare *rēmigō* "row," derived from an underlying expression *rēmum agere* via the intermediate formation *rēmex, rēmigis*. Against the conventional rejection of Thurneysen's positing an underlying **pūr agere*,[83] I cite the Umbrian collocation *pir ahtimem ententu* "place fire in the *ahti-*" in *Iguvine Tables* Ib 12, where *pir* (< **pūr*) is combined with an abstract noun *ahti-* (< **ag-ti-*) derived from a verb surviving in Latin as *agere*.[84] Finally, compare the obscure gloss *exfir* in Paulus ex Festo 69, where *pūrgāmentum* seems to be equated with *suffitiō*:

> *exfir, purgamentum, unde adhuc manet suffitio.*

To sum up: Zoroastrian orthodoxy prescribes manure as a resting-place for the corpse; since corpse-burning is forbidden, it follows that manure-burning should also be forbidden because of the association of manure with the corpse. Because of this association, the use of manure for secular fuel may be forbidden along with its use for cremating the corpse.

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[80] Cf. J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde,* trans. H. K. Beauchamp as *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*[3] (Oxford 1924) 485; see also J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* I (Stuttgart 1960) 130.

[81] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) s.v. *suffiō.* Cf. also the reports about the *stercus* "manure" which is ritually swept out of the precinct of Vesta, Roman goddess of the domestic fireplace (Varro, *Ling.* 6.32; Festus 344); cf. G. Dumézil, "Trois règles de l'aedes Vestae," *Revue des études latines* 37 (1959) 97f.

[82] R. Thurneysen, "Zur Wortschöpfung im Lateinischen," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 31 (1912–1913: the B. Delbrück-Festschrift) 276–281.

[83] Cf. Ernout/Meillet (n. 21) s.v. *pūrgō.*

[84] Cf. above.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

A HANDLIST OF SATYR PLAYS

Dana Ferrin Sutton

IN addition to Euripides' *Cyclops*, the basic text for the study of the
Greek satyr play is Victor Steffen's *Satyrographorum Graecorum
Fragmenta*.[1] Any student of the satyr play is undoubtedly aware of the
many virtues of this highly useful work, but must be conscious of its
one important shortcoming.[2] Many plays are registered therein that are
only conjecturally satyric (plausibly in some cases, but decidedly less
so in others).[3] This would be perfectly acceptable, if it were advertised
that given plays are admitted hypothetically, and if the grounds for
such conjectures were made explicit, which is not done.[4] Consequently
the occasional reader risks gaining a distorted impression of the body of
evidence concerning satyr plays, and any scholarship indiscriminately
based on Steffen's purported corpus of evidence is liable to criticism.

It would consequently appear useful to inquire as to how many

[1] (Poznan 1952). This is actually the second edition of Steffen's *Satyro-
graphorum Graecorum Reliquae* (Poznan 1936), the difference of title indicating
that the first edition also contained a text of Euripides' *Cyclops*. This com-
pendium is in some respects outmoded by the appearance of the first volume
of Bruno Snell's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1971), which
deals with didascalic records and the minor poets; but Snell does not concern
himself with the question which will occupy us here, the identification of satyr
plays. I will cite Snell's work as *TrGF*.

[2] This has already been noted by, e.g. Holger Friis Johansen, *Lustrum* 7
(1962) 273f.

[3] A comparison of the first and second editions (see n. 1 above) shows that at
least some of the less defensible inclusions of the first edition have been elimin-
ated. It must be added that one play included by Steffen conjecturally has had
its satyric status brilliantly confirmed, Aeschylus' *Amyone* (cf. *POxy* XX.2256
fr. 3).

[4] Steffen briefly discussed his conjectures in the course of a useful introduc-
tion to *Satyrographorum Graecorum Reliquae* (cf. n. 1 above) that is unfortunately
not reproduced in *SGF*; these discussions are uniformly too short to convince,
and there is no consideration of the criteria by which satyr plays may be identi-
fied. In *SGF* these remarks should have been expanded, not eliminated. I will
not review fragments of various authors that cannot be ascribed to definite plays,
nor similar fragments registered as "*adespota*," although the reader should be
warned that many of these, too, deserve sharp scrutiny before being accepted as
satyric fragments.

satyr plays can be identified as such with security. The intention of the
present study is to correct Steffen's deficiency by going through the
complete roster of plays included in *Satyrographorum Graecorum
Fragmenta* (henceforth abbreviated *SGF*) and examining the claims
of each play to be regarded as satyric. When plays that cannot be
shown to be satyric are set aside, the corpus of evidence pertaining to
the satyr play will be placed on a much improved basis.

More specifically, the intention of this study is to try to arrive at an
irreducible minimum group of plays that are demonstrably satyric.
For present purposes it will in general suffice to review Steffen's
conjectures; many others have of course conjectured that given plays
are satyric,[5] and it would be a worthwhile project to collect and review
as many such suggestions as possible. This, however, is not required
by the intention of the present study, which is the compilation of a
minimum roster of satyr plays, and accordingly is best deferred until a
later time.

It is useful to isolate plays that are demonstrably satyric in order to
produce a sound body of evidence pertaining to the satyric genre, but
there is of course no intention of discouraging conjecture — as long as
it is clearly identified as such. The elimination of plays on the grounds
that they are only hypothetically satyric does not equal or imply the
argument that they are not satyric. Many of the conjectures tacitly
adopted by Steffen are attractive, and just as no evidence exists to prove
that these plays are satyric, so no grounds exist to prove that they are
not. The most negative evaluation that can be made is that there is no
particular reason to regard a given play as satyric, in which case it is
preferable to consider it a tragedy. Plays that are satyric only by con-
jecture, even very plausible conjecture, deserve to be acknowledged for
what they are, and kept strictly differentiated from plays that are
demonstrably such.

After a brief discussion of the criteria by which a play can be identi-
fied as satyric, I will apply these criteria to each play registered in *SGF*.
For the reader's convenience, plays will be considered in the order of
their appearance in that work. In the case of several plays there are
fragments, mostly of recently published papyri, that should be added to
the fragments printed in *SGF*, which will be noted in passing.[6] I will

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[5] For instance, in his *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin
1959) 17, H. J. Mette regarded Aeschylus' *Cabeiroi* as satyric, a view later
modified in his *Der Verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 130–132.

[6] For the reader's convenience, whenever a papyrus noted by R. Pack, *The
Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt*[2] (Ann Arbor 1965),

also have occasion to notice several demonstrably satyric plays not registered in *SGF*.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

The easiest way to prove a play satyric is if one or more ancient authorities explicitly cite it as such. Fortunately, there is never conflicting testimony that the same play is both tragic and satyric, and there appears to be no reason to question the reliability of any of the authorities whom I will have to cite.[7]

Likewise, if a fragment or witness testifies to the presence of Silenus or the satyrs in a play, we may conclude that the play is satyric. But it would seem that evidence to the effect that Silenus or the satyrs were mentioned in a play does not necessarily prove that it was such.[8]

It has been argued that no writer of Attic Greek would describe any play other than tragedy as a *drama*.[9] Whether or not this is true of Attic Greek, the vast majority of authorities whom I will be citing are of a later age, and do not observe this supposed nicety.[10] Therefore if an ancient witness describes a play as a *drama*, this cannot be used as evidence that it was a tragedy.

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is noticed, its catalogue number will be cited, so that the reader may consult the bibliographies provided there. Similarly, a fragment appearing in Snell's *TrGF* (cf. n. 1 above) will be cited according to its catalogue number in that compendium, and monumental evidence will be cited as it appears in F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*[2] (Berlin 1959), where, again, bibliographical information is provided.

[7] The only exception to this generalization concerns Sophocles' *Kophoi*, which will be discussed below; even here, the problem is more apparent than real.

[8] According to the Scholiast on Theocritus iv.62, satyrs were mentioned in Sophocles' *Andromeda*, and consequently it has been occasionally claimed that this play was satyric. But in *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge U.K. 1917), i,78–80, A. C. Pearson has argued vigorously that it was a tragedy. Perhaps decisive is a series of vase paintings attesting to a serious dramatic treatment of the Andromeda legend prior to Euripides' *Andromeda* of 412. Cf. K. Schauenberg, "Die Bostoner Andromeder-Pelike," *A & A* 13 (1967) 1–7, and J. M. Marijoàn, "La Andrómeda de Sofócles," *BICH* II, 2 (1968) 65–67.

[9] Herbert Richards, "On the Word Δρᾶμα," *CR* 14 (1900) 388–393; so also William M. Calder III, "The Dramaturgy of Sophocles' *Inachus*," *GRBS* 1 (1958) 139f.

[10] For the collocation "satyric drama," see P. Guggisberg, *Das Satyrspiel* (Zurich 1947) 31. Athenaeus cites Sophocles' *Syndeipnoi* as a *drama* at VIII, 365b, and because of the scatological nature of one of its fragments it is evident that this play cannot have been a tragedy. See also the detailed observations on the use of this word by F. Stössl in his article "*Drama*," *RE* Supp. X (1965) 180–182.

Plays may also be identified as satyric on the basis of the internal evidence of fragments. We may take it as axiomatic that explicitly scatological or obscene fragments cannot have come from tragedies. Likewise, we may regard the presence of violations of Porson's Law, or the use of cyclic anapaests, other than proper names, in the second, third, fourth, or fifth foot of the line, as sure indication that the fragment displaying these features comes from a satyr play, unless these can be eliminated by simple and obvious emendation.[11]

There is of course inevitably an element of subjectivity involved in evaluating possibly satyric fragments. Tragedy by its very nature postulates a certain elevated grandeur, whereas a very basic component of satyric humor is to deflate and undermine the mystique of tragedy.[12] Hence it well might be thought that anything that appears to sabotage the required dignity of tragedy is indicative of satyric origin. But in attempting to apply this theory we encounter problems, as it is difficult to establish the limits of what would be considered acceptable in fifth-century tragedy, let alone later. Regarding the issue of propriety, for instance, there are occasional passages in tragedy that might antagonize strict Victorian sensibilities, such as mention of urination in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* and the overt homosexuality of the relation of Achilles and Patroclus in Aeschylus' *Myrmidones*.[13] But even if such passages offend rigid tastes, they do not threaten to undermine the elevation of tragedy. When the Nurse mentions the urination of the infant Orestes in the *Choephoroi*, the intention is actually to heighten the tragic horror of the play by contrasting the erstwhile infant with the killer we see before us, and no sense of the ridiculous (which would be fatal to tragedy) is present. Likewise, for a society that was relatively tolerant of homosexuality, there need be nothing anti-tragic in the explicit treatment of this theme in the *Myrmidones*. On the other hand, gross obscenity is obviously incompatible with tragedy. The difficulty is identifying the dividing-line of the spectrum. Nothing could be worse than to pretend to a precision of judgment that actually lies outside our grasp, and attempt to apply hard-and-fast rules. All we can do is evaluate each problem on its own merits, in the realization that full agreement is probably impossible.

Tragic grandeur is achieved by, among other things, the establish-

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[11] I have discussed this fully in *The Date of Euripides' Cyclops* (Ann Arbor, 1974). chap. 1, secs. i, x, xvii, xxiv, and xxv.

[12] Cf. Guggisberg *Das Satyrspiel* 31f, and Sutton, *Date of Euripides' Cyclops*, chap. 4, sec. ii.

[13] Cf. frags. 228 and 229 M.

ment of a sense of "distance." The action is set in a heroic time far removed from fifth-century Athens (in the one extant exception, Aeschylus' *Persai*, distance of space replaces distance of time), the characters are wrapped in the mantle of the heroic and speak an elevated language, and the impedimenta of everyday life are mentioned in this heroic language, if at all. Therefore one might think that the grandeur of tragedy risks deflation by the introduction of notable anachronisms, colloquial diction, or too free mention of the things of everyday life. But here, too, our problem is establishing the limits of what would have been considered acceptable for tragedy. Since this is a clear impossibility, we must avoid laying down supposed rules concerning these issues and try as best we can to make *ad hoc* decisions in individual instances.

The study of the titles given Greek plays is perhaps intrinsically interesting, and in some other context it might be useful to investigate typologies of play titles, but it has little to teach us for present purposes. Rarely is it possible to pronounce a play satyric solely on the basis of its title. Most satyr plays are named after somebody in the play, either the hero or another character, often the villain of the piece. It is seemingly more usual for a satyr play to be named after the villain than anybody else, but since tragedies were also occasionally so titled (for instance, Euripides' *Alope* was also known as the *Cercyon*), the fact that a play is named after a character ill-reputed in mythology does not establish that it was satyric. In the same way, many satyr plays were written about trickery and tricksters, and when, for instance, a play has the title *Sisyphus*, scholars often leap to the conclusion that it must have been satyric.[14] But Aristotle makes a remark in the *Poetics* (1456a) that should give us pause: ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν ὁ σοφὸς μὲν μετὰ πονηρίας ⟨δ'⟩ ἐξεπατηθῇ, ὥσπερ Σίσυφος ... Aristotle is discussing possible subjects for tragedy, and seems to think that the story of Sisyphus would be appropriate for tragic treatment. What myth he has in mind, and whether he is thinking of a specific play, does not concern us, as the implication is the same in any circumstance. We cannot assume that plays entitled *Sisyphus* must have been satyric.

The next commonest type of title derives from some essential quality or function of the Chorus, such as Sophocles' *Kophoi* ("The Deaf") and *Ichneutai* ("The Trackers"). These are exactly like similar titles of tragedies, such as Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* ("The Libation Bearers")

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[14] This assumption is made implicitly by Steffen in *SGF*, and explicitly by, e.g., Gerald F. Else, *Aristotles' Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957) 530.

and *Hiketidae* ("The Suppliants"). There is no way of distinguishing satyric from tragic titles within this category.

More interesting, because they fall outside of the usual categories of play titles, are titles such as Aeschylus' *Leon*, Sophocles' *Krisis*, *Momos*, and *Hybris* and Dionysius' *Loimos*:[15] abstractions or personifications of abstractions. With the possible exception of Agathon's *Anthos* (if such was its title) no known tragedies used such titles, although of course they did employ personifications (e.g. Lyssa in the *Hercules Furens*). We must apparently consider what is being personified. We can probably conclude that Achaeus' *Momus*, like that of Sophocles, was satyric. The status of Sophocles' *Eris* is, however, more debatable. A special case seems to be Timesitheus' *Zēnos Gonai*. As this was also the title of a Middle Comedy by Philiscus, and scarcely sounds like the title of a tragedy, we may probably conclude that it was also satyric. But these seem to be the only instances where a play's title may warrant the conclusion that it was a satyr play.

Often the probable contents of a play can be deduced from its title or its fragments. Now, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that there are typical satyric subjects, characterizations, and themes.[16] The three commonest satyric subjects are (1) the defeat of a villain, ogre, or monster, (2) fraud and trickery, and (3) bondage and escape or rescue. Associated with these subjects are stock characterizations: great villains or ogres like Amycus, Busiris, and Cercyon, monsters like the Cyclops and the Sphinx, tricksters like Autolycus and Sisyphus, and heroes who overcome villains and monsters, and who rescue the helpless and imprisoned, such as Theseus and Heracles. The most common combination of these themes and characterizations seems to have been a sort of play of which Euripides' *Cyclops* is an example. Somebody falls into the clutches of one of these villains or monsters and is rescued by a hero, either by trickery or by an act of actual heroism. Consequently, the theme of barbaric versus civilized behavior would appear to have been frequently raised in satyr plays.

The difficulty is that, while it is easy to identify typically satyric

[15] It is possible that the *Leon* and the *Hybris* do not belong on his list, as minor mythological figures of these names are known. For Leon, see Ps.-Apollodorus III.viii.1; for Hybris, *ibid.* I.iv.1.

[16] Cf. Guggisberg (n. 10 above) 60–74, who summarizes earlier descriptions; so also J. Duchemin, *Le Cyclope, édition critique et commentée* (Paris 1945) xv–xvii; Anne Pippen Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal* (Oxford 1971), index s.v. "satyric motifs"; Sutton, *Date of Euripides' Cyclops*, chap. II, sec. v.

subjects, themes, and characterizations, it would seem to be impossible to identify any that were exclusively such. Consequently the demonstration that any such elements appear in a given play can be used as the grounds for hypothesis that the play was satyric, but not as actual proof of the fact. For us, who are attempting to segregate plays which are demonstrably satyric from those which are not, the distinction is vital.[17]

There is only one possible exception to this generalization. One particular species of satyr play, represented by Sophocles' *Dionysiscus* and *Heracleiscus*, and perhaps by Timesitheus' *Zēnos Gonai*, dealt with the childhood of gods and heroes, and appears to have cast Silenus and the satyrs in the role of nurses or pedagogues, a role they also assume in Aeschylus' *Dictyulci*.[18] It is difficult to see how such plays could contain apt material for tragedy. We will have to bear this in mind when we come to evaluate Aeschylus' *Dionysou Trophoi*.

Finally, monumental evidence plays a valuable role in determining the status of several plays.[19] Methodological objections have been raised to the identification of satyr plays on the basis of vase paintings,[20] but there is no need to be drawn into a discussion of the value of such evidence, as in actual practice monuments always play a role ancillary to literary evidence: in no case do we have to judge the status of a play solely on the basis of monumental evidence.

I extend deep thanks to Dr. William M. Calder III for reading the typescript of this study and offering very valuable advice and encouragement.[21]

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[17] The theme of rescue effected by defeat of a monster, for instance, appeared in Euripides' *Andromeda*. For satyric themes in his prosatyric *Alcestis*, see Guggisberg (n. 10 above) 69, and Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived*, 31, 33, and 44f. For satyric themes in his *I.T.* and *Helen*, cf. Burnett 71, and my *Date of Euripides' Cyclops*, chap. II, sec. v, where it is argued that both were prosatyric.

[18] See also Herondas vi, 76, and my forthcoming "Sophocles' *Dionysiscus*," *Eos* 62 (1974).

[19] Monumental evidence is studied as catalogued by Brommer (n. 6 above).

[20] See Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1953) 176.

[21] Throughout the following pages three works are referred to so frequently that they are not given full citation: Brommer (n. 6 above), Guggisberg, (n. 10 above), and Pack (n. 6 above), are referred to as "Brommer," "Guggisberg," and "Pack[2]." In the case of Brommer, the references are to the concluding Catalogue.

I. Tragici Minores

1. Pratinas, *Palaistai*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Argument to the *Seven Against Thebes*. The set of plays to which it belonged is now also attested by the didascalic notice *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 2+4+1 (Pack² No. 46; *TrGF* DID C 467).

2. Choerilus, *Alope*

There is no adequate reason for regarding this as a satyr play; although Guggisberg 78 considers this play possibly satyric, he rightly points out that Euripides wrote a tragic *Alope or Cercyon* (for the probable contents of which cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 187).

3. Phrynichus, *Antaeus or Libyes*

According to the remains of this play (see especially the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Frogs* 688) a good deal was said of wrestling in this play. It has therefore been supposed that the subject of this play was the wrestling match of Heracles and Antaeus: cf. W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Munich 1940) I.ii.172. It is hence a reasonable conjecture that it was a satyr play, as the story-line would thus conform to the typically satyric subject of the villain who molests wayfarers receiving his defeat at the hands of a hero (cf. Euripides' *Cyclops*, and his *Busiris*, *Sciron*, and *Syleus*, Sophocles' *Amycus*, and so on). But this is unfortunately incapable of proof, and the play must be regarded as only conjecturally satyric.

4. Aristeas, *Antaeus*

The subject of this play is uncertain; for an alternative possibility to the myth of Heracles and Antaeus, cf. Pindar *P.* ix.105ff, the contest for the hand of Antaeus' daughter. Both would probably be more apt subjects for satyric than tragic treatment. Compare the remarks on Phrynichus' *Antaeus* directly above, and for a satyr play with a subject apparently similar to the contest for Antaeus' daughter, see the anonymous *Oeneus* (?) of *POxy* VIII.1083 (No. 42 below), and D. L. Page's commentary on that play in the Loeb Library *Select Papyri*, iii.168f. Guggisberg 81 is inclined to regard this play as satyric, but this is not

susceptible of proof, and the play must be regarded as only conjecturally satyric.

5. Aristeas, *Atalante*

There is nothing in the very scanty remains of this play to suggest that it was satyric. Brommer, no. 35, registers a vase of ca. 460 depicting Silenus chasing a woman generally identified as Atalante. Two Atalante plays of the period could have inspired this illustration, the present play and Aeschylus' *Atalante*, but there are no grounds for regarding either as satyric. All one can do is note the evidence for a satyric *Atalante* of the earlier fifth century.

6. Aristeas, *Kēres*

The one fragment of this play seems rather too colloquial for tragedy:

σύνδειπνος ἢ 'πίκωμος ἢ μαζαγρέτας,
Ἅιδου τραπεζεύς, ἀκρατέα νηδὺν ἔχων

Moreover, the phrase Ἅιδου τραπεζεύς finds an echo, significantly enough, at Euripides' *Cyclops* 397: Ἅιδου μαγείρῳ (noted by Guggisberg 82 n. 7). It would appear safe to regard this play as satyric.

7. Aristeas, *Cyclops*

According to the Suda s.v. "ἀπώλεσας—ὕδωρ," this play was mentioned by Chamaeleon in his treatise περὶ σατύρων, and as Guggisberg notes (82 n. 8), Euripides echoes the one fragment of this play at *Cyc.* 557, which proves what we could anyway guess, that this play was an important forerunner of the *Cyclops*. It was obviously satyric.

8. Aristeas, *Orpheus*

Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1932) II 196 n. 2, regards this play as a tragedy, but states no reason for this opinion. The one fragment of this play, with its mention of the contemporary institution of the palaestra, seems rather anachronistic for a tragedy: ἦν μοι παλαίστρα καὶ δρόμος ξυστὸς πέλας. Also, several vases of the early fifth century show Orpheus with Silenus or satyrs (cf. Brommer, nos. 94–96a with refs.) Besides Aristeas' *Orpheus*, the only known fifth-century play about Orpheus is Aeschylus' *Bassaridai*, one of the

tragedies of the *Lycurgeia* (cf. the Scholiast on Ar. *Thesm.* 135). The conclusion that this was a satyr play appears warranted.

9. Polyphrasmon, *Title Unknown*

Steffen registers here the unknown satyr play that presumably accompanied Polyphrasmon's *Lycurgeia* of 467 B.C., a trilogy attested by the Hypothesis to the *Septem* and now also by the didascalic notice noted in No. 1 above.

10. Ion, *Omphale*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Strabo I.60.

11. Achaeus, *Athla* (*Athloi?*)

The satyric nature of this play is strongly suggested by fr. 1 S, a joke at the expense of the Boeotians. This is also the opinion of Guggisberg 132, and authorities cited there, and also of C. Drago, "Acheo, un Satirografo Minore del V Secolo," *Dion.* 5 (1935–36) 231.

12. Achaeus, *Aithon*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus VI 270b and IX 368a.

13. Achaeus, *Alcmeon*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus IV 173d.

14. Achaeus, *Hephaestus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athanaeus XII 641d. To the fragment registered by Steffen should be added the reference to this play at Philodemus, *De Pietate* p. 48, ed. Gomperz (*TrGF* F 16b).

15. Achaeus, *Iris*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus X, 451c, and by Philodemus, *De Pietate* p. 36, ed. Gomperz. In both *SGF*

and Snell's *TrGF*, the last three legible words of the fragment are omitted, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς (for their possible bearing on the importance of the fragment, see the Gomperz' note *ad loc.* and my forthcoming "Sophocles' *Dionysiscus*" in *Eos* 62 [1974]).

16. Achaeus, *Cycnus*

There is no proof that this play was satyric, although the myth of the encounter of Hercules and any of the several ogres named Cycnus whom he is represented as having overcome would be a good subject for a satyr play, embodying the common satyric theme of the defeat of a villain. Cf. Guggisberg 133 with refs., and Drago, "Acheo," above, No. 11, 237.

17. Achaeus, *Linus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus XV 668a, who attests to the presence of satyrs in it.

18. Achaeus, *Moirai*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Hesychius III.164, who attests to the presence of Silenus in it.

19. Achaeus, *Momus*

For reasons stated in the introduction, the title of this play would appear to warrant the conclusion that it was satyric. See also Guggisberg 133, and Drago, "Acheo," above, No. 11, 238.

20. Achaeus, *Omphale*

This play is shown to be satyric by Athenaeus VI 267d, and XI 466f, and by Diogenes Laertius II.133.

21. Iophon, *Auloidoi*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I 329.

22. Xenocles, *Athamas*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Aelian *V.H.* II.8.

23. Astydamas (Major or Minor?), *Hermes*

This play is shown to have been satyric by a didascalic inscription in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 116f, as restored by the ed. pr., B. D. Merritt. The name of the author is actually not legible on the inscription but is restored because Astydamas' *Hermes* is the only known play of that title.

24. Astydamas Minor, *Heracles*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus X 411a.

25. Timesitheus, *Zēnos Gonai*

For reasons stated in the introduction, the title of this play would appear to warrant the conclusion that it was satyric. This is also the opinion of Guggisberg 139.

26. Timesitheus, *Heracles*

There seems no reason at all to consider this play, of which only the title is preserved, satyric. It is regarded as a tragedy by, e.g., Ernst Diehl, *RE* s.v. "Timesitheus 1."

27. Timocles, *Lycurgus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by *IG* II², 22, 2320.

28. Chaeremon, *Dionysus*

There is no proof that this play, the subject of which was the downfall of Pentheus, was satyric. N. Collinge, "On the Tragedian Chaeremon," *JHS* 90 (1970) 26, has no opinion of its nature.

29. Chaeremon, *Io*

There is no proof that this play was satyric, and this is doubted by Collinge (above, No. 28, 26.) Brommer, No. 167, cites several vases illustrating satyric treatment of the myth of Io, but these could equally have been inspired by Sophocles' *Inachus*.

30. Chaeremon, *Centuar*

There is no proof that this play was satyric. Athenaeus XIII, 608e, and Aristotle, *Poetics* 1447b, describe this play as an experimental "polymetric drama." Our text of the *Poetics* describes this as a μικτὴ ῥαψῳδία, but these words are bracketed by Else, n. 14, 58f. Both Else and Collinge (above, No. 28, 27) regard it as a satyr play, but this is not demonstrable. The circumstances of its writing and production, as well as its contents, are wholly unknown, and, if it was written for the dramatic competition at all, it could have been, if not a tragedy, possibly a nonsatyric *Nachspiel*. For a fragment that should perhaps be added to those in *SGF*, see *PHibeh* II.224 (Pack[2] No. 1613; *TrGF* F 14b).

31. Dionysius, *Adonis*

There appears to be no reason to regard this play as satyric. Its one fragment is generally regarded as extremely corrupt, although G. Roux, "Sur deux textes relatifs à Adonis," *RBPh* 41 (1967) 259–264, makes a valiant effort to understand it with minimal emendations, and hence it serves as an unprofitable basis for discussion of the nature of this work.

32. Dionysius, *Loimos*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Scholiast LT on *Il.* XI.515, who attests to the presence of Silenus in it.

33. Python, *Agen*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus II 50f, and XIII 595f.

34. Lycophron, *Menedemus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus X 420b and Diogenes Laertius II.140.

35. Sositheus, *Daphnis or Lityerses*

Since, according to Tzetzes, *Chil.* Il.596, "Sosibius" (which is surely a mistake or corruption for "Sositheus") represented the ogre-

like Lityerses as eating and drinking to grotesque excess, it appears safe to regard this play as satyric.

36. Anaxion, *Persai*

This play is shown to have been satyric by a didascalic inscription quoted by Phillipe le Bas and W. H. Waddington in *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et Asie Mineure* (Paris 1869) III, no. 91.

37. Theodorus, *Thytes*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Dittenberger, *SIG* III[3], 1079.

38. Polemaeus, *Aias*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Dittenberger, *SIG* III[3], 1079.

39. Harmodius, *Protesilaus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Dittenberger, *SIG* III[3], 1079.

40. Theudotus, *Palamedes*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Dittenberger, SIG III[3], 1079.

41. Anon., *Athamas*

Steffen unconvincingly infers a satyr play from the fragment βριαζούσης λεαίνας, attributed to an Athamas play by Hesychius, I, 402. Known plays about Athamas are by Aeschylus, Sophocles (who wrote two), Xenocles, and one of the Astydamantes, of which only Xenocles' is known to have been satyric. This fragment has no visible satyric quality and scarcely warrants the suggestion that the play was satyric.

42. Anon., *Oeneus* (?)

This play, about Oeneus (or perhaps Schoeneus), exists in papyrus fragments sufficient to show its satyric nature (*POxy* VIII.1083). Its title and authorship have been variously discussed, without conclusive result (see the bibliography provided by Pack[2] No. 1739 and the discussion of Page, above, no. 4, 168 f). The relation of *POxy* 1083 to *POxy* XXVII.2453 is not entirely clear. *POxy* 2453 is written by the same two hands, a scribe and a commentator, and appears to contain fragments of other plays, perhaps by Sophocles, in which case the argument for the Sophoclean authorship of this play is strengthened. To the fragments of this play should perhaps also be added *PI and V.*76; this was tentatively identified as a fragment of this play by Page, No. 4 above (cf. Pack[2] No. 1741, although Page's attribution is not noticed).

(NOTE: The following plays are not registered in *SGF*.)

43. Timocles, *Icarioi Satyroi*

It is generally thought that there were two fourth-century playwrights named Timocles, one a tragedian and one a writer of Middle Comedy (cf. E. Diehl, *RE* "Timokles 4" with refs.; so also Guggisberg 139). But we have the explicit testimony of Athenaeus IX 407d, that they were the same individual. In view of this play's title, it is obligatory to regard it as satyric (comedies are known with the title *Satyroi*, but never with titles of two words of which *Satyroi* is the second, that being a nomenclature reserved exclusively for satyr plays). See my "Timocles Satyricus" forthcoming in *Dion*.

44. Anon., *Atlas* (or *Atlantides*?)

This play is attested and shown to have been satyric by the didascalic inscription published by B. D. Merrit, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 116f; cf. *TrGF* DID A 4a 14. For a vase painting possibly relevant to this play, see Brommer, No. 91.

45. Anon., *Mathetai*

This play is attested and shown to have been satyric by the didascalic inscription cited immediately above. It appears to be mentioned also by *IG* XII, 1, 125 fr. b, 6 (*TrGF* DID A 5b [224]6).

46. Anon., *Phorcides*

This play is attested and shown to have been satyric by the didascalic inscription *CIG* II, 973.71 (*TrGF* DID A 2a, 31). To judge by the surrounding context, this is likelier to have been a contemporary fourth-century play than a revival of Aeschylus' *Phorcides* (so, e.g., Nauck, *TGF*², p. 85), and so the latter need not be considered satyric. For monumental evidence possibly relevant to this play see Brommer, No. 36.

47. Anon., *Telephus*

See s.v. Sophocles' *Telephus*.

In addition to the above plays, possible new satyric fragments by unidentified authors are as follows:

(1) *PHibeh* II.179 (Pack² No. 1740), identified as such by the ed. pr., E. G. Turner.
(2) *PIbscher* 1 = *PHamb.*, p. 127f (Pack² No. 1742), identified as such by the ed. pr., K. Ibscher.
(3) *POxy* XXV.2436 (Pack² No. 2440), identified as such by the eds. prs., E. Lobel and E. G. Turner.

Summary

Plays where some addition to the evidence printed in SGF has been noted are indicated with an asterisk.

1. Demonstrably Satyric Plays (36)

Pratinas, *Palaistai	Astydamas I, *Heracles*
Aristeas, *Kēres*	Timesitheus, *Zēnos Gonai*
—— *Cyclops*	Timocles, *Icarioi
—— *Orpheus*	—— *Lycurgus*
Polyphrasmon, *Title	Dionysius, *Loimos*
unknown	Python, *Agen*
Ion, *Omphale*	Lycophron, *Menedemus*
Achaeus, *Athla* (*Athloi*?)	Sositheus, *Daphnis*
—— *Alcmeon*	Anaxion, *Persai*

—	*Hephaestus*	Theodorus,	*Thytes*
—	*Iris*	Polemaeus,	*Aias*
—	*Linus*	Harmodius,	*Protesilaus*
—	*Moirai*	Theudotus,	*Palamedes*
—	*Momus*	Anon.,	*Oeneus(?)*
—	*Omphale*	—	*Atlas (Atlantidae?)*
Iophon, *Auloidoi*		—	*Mathetai*
Xenocles, *Athamas*		—	*Phorcides*
Astydamas I or II, *Hermes*		—	*Telephus*

2. Plays Not Demonstrably Satyric (11)

Choerilus, *Alope*		Chaeremon,	*Dionysus*
Phrynichus, *Antaeus* or		—	*Io*
—	*Libyes*	—	*Centuar*
Aristeas, *Antaeus*		Dionysius,	*Adonis*
—	*Atalante*	Anon.,	*Athamas*
Achaeus, *Cycnus*			
Timesitheus, *Heracles*			

II. Aeschylus

1. *Amymone*

This play is now shown to be satyric by *POxy* XX.2256 fr. 3 (Pack[2] No. 46) for which see s.v. Sophocles' *Kophoi*.

2. *Glaucus Pontius*

According to the Scholiast on Theocritus iv.62, τοὺς σατύρους πλείους φησίν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Σειληνοὺς καὶ Πᾶνας, ὡς Αἰσχύλος μὲν ἐν Γλαύκῳ, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδᾳ. In the general introduction, I adopted a guiding principle that evidence for the presence of Silenus or satyrs in a play would be taken as proof that a play was satyric, but that the fact that they were merely mentioned does not constitute such proof. This distinction is forced on us by the fact that Sophocles' *Andromeda*, one of the two plays cited by this Scholiast, was evidently not satyric. By the same logic, we are barred from concluding that the *Glaucus* (*Pontius?*) was a satyr play. Guggisberg 87f also suspends judgment about the nature of this play. To the fragments in *SGF* are to be added *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 12f (Pack[2] No. 46), first identified as belonging to

this play by B. Snell in "The Oxyrinchus Papyri, Part 20," *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 437f.

3. *Dictyulci*

To the fragments in *SGF* should be added the following:

(1) *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 72, 75(?) and 76 (Pack² No. 46); fr. 72 was first identified as a fragment of this play by Snell, "The Oxyrinchus Papyri," s.v. *Glaucus Pontius* 440; fr. 75 (tentatively) and fr. 76 were attributed to this play by F. C. Görschen, "Nachlese in Pap. Ox. XX (1952) nr. 2245 bis 2257," *ArchP.* 17:1 (1960) 60.

(2) *POxy* XX.2255 frr. 1–3, 5 and 20f (?) (Pack² No. 45); these were first identified as fragments of this play by H. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin 1959), where they appear as frr. 468–473, but for frr. 20f, see s.v. Aeschylus' *Theoroi or Isthmiastai* below.

4. *Theoroi or Isthmiastai*

To the fragments in *SGF* should be added the following:

(1) *POxy* XVIII.2162 fr. 3 (Pack² No. 42); this is a further fragment of a papyrus already assigned to this play and is published in *POxy* XX, 167.

(2) *POxy* XX.2250 (Pack² No. 43); this was first identified as a fragment of this play by Snell, "The Oxyrinchus Papyri" s.v. the *Glaucus Pontius* 436.

(3) *POxy* XX.2255 fr. 4 (Pack² No. 45); this was first identified as a fragment of this play by Mette, *Die Fragmente* s.v. *Dictyulci*, where it appears as fr. 4.

(4) *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 9a–b, 12, and 20f(?) (Pack² No. 46); these were first identified as fragments of this play by F. C. Görschen, "Zum sogenannten Dike-Fragment des Aeschylos (Pap. Ox. XX.2256 fr. 9 a, b, and 12)", *Dioniso* NS 18 (1955) 139–161; but the attribution of frr. 9a–b has been questioned by Z. K. Vysoky in "Fabula Satyrica an Ludis Sollemnis?," *LF* 8 (1960) 41–44, and my "Timocles Satyricus" forthcoming in *Dioniso*, and for another possible attribution of frr. 20f see s.v. *Dictyulci* above.

5. *Callisto*

There appears to be no reason to regard this play as satyric. The sole grounds for so thinking is the play's title (cf. Guggisberg 89, who himself does not accept the theory), but the myth of Callisto does not seem necessarily inappropriate for tragedy. This play is regarded as a tragedy by H. J. Mette, *Der Verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 133f.

6. *Cercyon*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Hesychius I, 239 and II, 225.

7. *Kerykes*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Pollux X.68 and X.186, and by Photius *Lex.* 477, 11.

8. *Circe*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Hesychius II, 259. F. R. Adrados, "La 'Circe' de Esquilo," *Emerita* 33 (1965) 229, assigns *POxy* XX.2246 to this play (Pack² No. 25, where the attribution is not noticed), but this attribution must be rejected because it is based on an insupportable restoration of the papyrus (cf. the ed. pr. and F. C. Görschen, "Der Aischylos-Fragment No. 2246 (Pap. Ox. XX)," *ArchP.* 17:2 [1962] 162–164).

9. *Leon*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Stephanus of Byzantium 699, 13. To the single fragment in *SGF* should be added *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 59f, 62–64 and 69 (Pack² No. 46), which were first attributed to this play by Snell, "The Oxyrinchus Papyri," s.v. the *Glaucus Pontius*, 435f; also, Görschen, "Nachlese" s.v. *Dictyulci* 60, tentatively assigns *POxy* XX.2256 fr. 50 (Pack² No. 46) to this play.

10. *Lycurgus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Scholiast on Ar. *Thesm.* 135.

11. *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Hypothesis to the *Persians* (quoted inaccurately by Steffen), Plutarch, *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate* ii.86F, and Epiphanius *Ancor*. p. 109A (I, 208ff, ed. Dindorf). No new fragments can definitely be assigned to this play, but Mette, *Die Fragmente*, s.v. *Dictyulci*, rightly notes that the following fragments should possibly be assigned to it rather than to one of the tragedies of the *Prometheia* trilogy:

(1) *POxy* XX.2245 frr.1–12 (Pack[2] No. 37), registered by Mette as frr. 343–350.

(2) *POxy* XX.2252 (Pack[2] No. 38), registered by Mette as fr. 342.

(3) *Anon. Metr. POx* col. v, 1–8, col. xi, 1–6 (Pack[2] No. 2172), registered by Mette as fr. 337.

(4) "Der Antiattizist" p. 116, 7 Bekk., registered by Mette as fr. 338.

(5) Scholiast on Aristeides, ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, p. 501, 16, ed. Dindorf, registered by Mette as fr. 339.

12. *Proteus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Hypothesis to the *Agamemnon*, by the Scholiast on Ar. *Frogs* 1123, by Athenaeus IX.394A, by Herodianus, π.μον. λέξ. 25, 19, and by Hesychius I, 137 and II, 137.

13. *Sisyphus Drapetes/Petrocylistes*

The fragments testify to a *Sisyphus Drapetes* and a *Sisyphus Petrocylistes* by Aeschylus. These are usually regarded as alternate titles of one play, having as its subject Sisyphus' escape from the underworld (cf. Guggisberg 95–97). Because it is thought that this subject is more suitable for a satyr play than for a tragedy, and because Euripides is known to have written a satyric *Sisyphus*, this play is commonly considered a satyr play. Neither proposition is capable of proof. First, there is no evidence to support the theory that one play is indicated by both titles. In *Die Fragmente*, s.v. *Dictyulci* 139–142 and *Der Verlorene Aischylos*, s.v. *Callisto*, 170–172, H. J. Mette refuses to accept the common view and considers the *Drapetes* a tragedy (for the proposition that the downfall of Sisyphus contains the stuff of tragedy, cf. Arist.

Poet. 1456A), having the *Petrocylistes* as its accompanying satyr play. Second, it is reasonably clear that the *Petrocylistes* was satyric, because of the mention of an "Aetnaean beetle" in fr. 60 S, which was apparently humorous. In classical literature, at any rate, other mention of Aetnaean beetles occurs in humorous writings: Arist. *Peace* 73, Sophocles, *Ichneutai* 300, and Epicharmus fr. 76 K, although commentators both ancient and modern have been unsuccessful in discovering the nature of the joke (cf. the Scholiast on *Peace* 73, as well as the observations of modern commentators *ad loc.*, such as Platnauer). This apparently entitles us to regard the *Petrocylistes* as satyric, but it is necessary to suspend judgement about the separate existence and nature of the *Drapetes*.

14. *Sphinx*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Hypothesis to the *Seven Against Thebes*. The set of plays to which it belonged, the *Oedipodeia*, is now also attested by *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 4 + 2 + 1 (Pack² No. 46). To the fragments of this play in *SGF* should be added *POxy* XX.2255 fr. 35 (Pack² No. 45), first identified as a fragment of this play by Mette, *Die Fragmente* s.v. *Dictyulci*, who registers it as fr. 183.

15. *(Dionysou) Trophoi*

There are several grounds for supposing this play to have been satyric. The fragments indicate that in it Medea boiled the nurses of Dionysus in order to rejuvenate them (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 182, 2 and Ovid *Met.* VII.294–296), which is probably a subject more appropriate for satyric than tragic treatment. Also, it was pointed out in the introduction to this study that the role of nursemaids or pedagogues is one in which Silenus and the satyrs are occasionally cast in satyr plays. Third, a bell krater from Ancona (cf. Brommer No. 105) shows Silenus participating in what appears to be an experiment at rejuvenation, and it has been suggested that this illustration was inspired by the *Trophoi*: cf. T. B. L. Webster, review of the first edition of Brommer's *Satyrspiele* (1944), *JHS* 70 (1955) 85f. But it is barely possible that it was inspired by Euripides' *Peliades* (so Brommer). It is attractive to surmise that the rejuvenation scene in Aristophanes' *Knights* was inspired by the *Trophoi*, but again it is not impossible that it was inspired by the *Peliades* (produced in 455). Most authorities consider the *Trophoi*

satyric: cf. Guggisberg 87 with regs., and Mette, *Der Verlorene Aischylos*, s.v. *Callisto* 147f. But, in accordance with the aims of this study, we seem obliged to suspend judgement. Görschen, "Nachlese", s.v. *Dictyulci* 60, tentatively assigns to this play *POxy* XX.2255 fr. 1 (Pack[2] No. 45).

16. *Ostologoi*

In *SGF*, Steffen relegated this play to a special appendix because of his doubt that it was satyric, but both of its surviving fragments strongly suggest that it was. Fragment 1 S describes a singular form of the cottabus game (itself a distinct anachronism) in which Eurymachus uses Odysseus' head as his target. In fr. 2 S Odysseus complains of having had a chamber pot dumped over his head and of the resulting stench. Mette, *Der Verlorene Aischylos*, s.v. *Callisto* 128f, would make this part of a hypothetical Odyssean tetralogy consisting of the *Psychagogoi, Ostologoi, Penelope*, and *Circe*; see also H. W. Smyth, *Aeschylus*, Loeb Library ed. ii 440. Guggisberg 92 also expresses doubt whether it was satyric. But none of these authorities gives an adequate account of how fragments of the nature of frr. 1 and 2 S could come from a tragedy. We would therefore do well to consider this play satyric.

17. The *Alexander*(?)

POxy XX.2254 (Pack[2] No. 49) has been tentatively identified as a fragment of a satyr play by Mette, *Die Fragmente*, s.v. *Dictyulci*, fr. 497, and *Der Verlorene Aischylos*, s.v. *Callisto* 121, on the grounds that the θῆρες οἴδ[ε of line 15 could refer to the satyrs. They are described as θῆρες at, e.g., Sophocles' *Ichneutai* 141, 147. So also Görschen, "Nachlese", s.v. *Dictyulci* 60. This consideration by itself is probably not decisive, but another point lends cogency to the argument. Lines 20, 21, and 22 contain iambic resolutions, and Aeschylean tragedies do not contain more than two successive lines with resolutions: so H. D. Broadhead, *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1960) 298 (after Descroix). Although there is no instance of three consecutive iambic lines in an Aeschylean satyr play, it seems reasonable to think that Aeschylus would violate this principle more readily in a satyr play than in a tragedy. According to Mette's latter discussion, which follows a suggestion of Snell, "The Oxyrinchus Papyri," s.v. *Glaucus Pontius* 237, the reading Π]ρίαμε at line 12 appears to indicate that this

is a fragment of an otherwise unattested satyr play set at Troy, perhaps an *Alexander*.

18. The *Dike* Play

POxy XX.2256 frr. 11, 13, 9a/b, 12, and 6–8 (Pack[2] No. 46, frr. 528–537 M) come from a play in which Dike was a character. A violation of Porson's Law at fr. 8, 3 (. . . τιμᾷ γὰρ πόλιν), forbidden in tragedy but occasionally tolerated in satyr plays (*Cyclops* 210, 681, 682, *Isthmiastai* fr. 21a S, 7 and 23, *Ichneutai* 335, etc.), proves that fr. 8 comes from a satyr play, and makes it virtually certain that this is a fragment of the *Dike* play of frr. 9a/b, etc., which the ed. pr. has pronounced satyric because of the use of ὁτίη at fr. 9a, 9, found at *Cyclops* 643, and in comedy, but never in tragedy. The identification of this play with the *Theoroi or Isthmiastai* is highly doubtful (cf. Vysoky, "Fabula Satyrica . . .," s.v. that play), and it seems preferable to regard it as an otherwise unattested satyr play. See further my "The Satyric Nature of Aeschylus '*Dike* play'", forthcoming in *Dion*.

Görschen, "*Nachlese*", s.v. *Dictyulci* 60, notes these further possible attributions of papyrus fragments to satyr plays by Aeschylus:

(1) *POxy* XX.2256 frr. 10 and 14–16 (Pack[2] No. 46), possibly from the *Cercyon* or *Sphinx*.
(2) *POxy* XX.2255 frr. 6f (Pack[2] No. 45).
(3) *Ibid.*, frr. 17f.
(4) *POxy* XX.2256 fr. 29 (Pack[2] No. 46).

SUMMARY

The plays studied here may be divided into two categories, those that are demonstrably satyric and those that are not; plays for which new evidence possibly should be added to that in *SGF* are indicated by an asterisk. Slightly more than eighty plays by Aeschylus can be identified, so that we would not go wrong if we assumed he wrote approximately twenty tetralogies. There are fifteen demonstrably satyric Aeschylean plays, and three or four that are not.

I. Plays that are Demonstrably Satyric

*Amymone	*Prometheus Pyrkaeus
*Dictyulci	Proteus

Theoroi or Isthmiastai
Cercyon
Kerykes
Circe
*Leon
Lycurgus

Sisyphus Petrocylistes
*Sphinx
Ostologoi
*Alexander(?)
*The Dike Play

II. Plays that are not Demonstrably Satyric

Glaucus Pontius
Callisto
Sisyphus Drapetes (q.v.)
(Dionysou) Trophoi

III. Sophocles

1. *Admetus*

This play is only represented by one fragment: οὑμὸς δ'ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν (sc. Ἀπόλλων) ἦγε πρὸς μύλην. According to Aristophanes of Byzantium's Hypothesis to the *Alcestis*, neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles treated the myth of Alcestis, which is sometimes thought to cast doubt on the authenticity of this play. This is presumably why Nauck did not include it in *TGF*². See the discussion of this play by A. M. Dale in the introduction to the Oxford edition of the *Alcestis*, xiv; Miss Dale argues for its authenticity, suggesting that the play dealt with another myth than that of the *Alcestis*, perhaps the marriage of Alcestis and Admetus. It might also be suggested that, if this play were satyric, Aristophanes would not take it into account. In his *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge, U.K. 1917), iii.60, A. C. Pearson interprets ἀλέκτωρ as a colloquialism for "husband," and thinks that the line is so "grotesque" that it must have come from a satyr play (so also the authorities cited by Guggisberg 102, although Guggisberg himself remains neutral). But this presupposes that Alcestis is the speaker, which is an unwarranted assumption. If it be supposed that Admetus spoke the line, ἀλέκτωρ can be taken literally: "every day the crowing of my cock called him to his work at the mill." Another point made by Pearson is more reasonable. He points out that in mythology Apollo is represented as having worked for Admetus as a herdsman, and that mill-work is considered the harshest and most degrading lot of a slave, so that this "demotion" of Apollo from his normal mythological position is indicative of satyric rather than tragic treatment. The point

seems well taken, and we may probably conclude that this play was satyric.

2. *Athamas*

There is abundant evidence that Sophocles wrote two Athamas plays. The subject of the *First Athamas* was the destruction wreaked by Hera on Athamas and his family because he and Ino had reared the infant Dionysus, and that of the *Second Athamas* was Nephele's attempt to sacrifice Athamas and his rescue from the altar by Hercules. See the discussion of these plays by Pearson, i, 1–4, and for monumental evidence possibly relevant to the *First Athamas*, cf. J. Fuhrmann, *JDAI* 65/66 (1950–51) 103–134. Steffen argued that one of these plays must have been satyric because of what he regarded as the satyric character of fr. 2 — οἴνῳ γὰρ ἡμῖν Ἀχελῷος ἆρα νᾷ — a view apparently shared by nobody else. But this fragment scarcely appears to have a satyric stamp, especially as it could have come from the no doubt "Dionysiac" *First Athamas*. We have no reason not to regard both of Sophocles' Athamas plays as tragedies.

3. *Amycus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Athenaeus IX 400B.

4. *Amphiareos*

This play is shown to have been satyric by *Anecd. Graec. Oxon.* I 344, 8, by the Scholiast on Plato *Symposium* 222B, by Hesychius I 26, by Zonaras *Lex.* 1742, by the Scholiast on Ar. *Frogs* 481, and by Athenaeus X 454F.

5. *Achileos Erastai*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Photius *Lex.* 369, 10, who attests to the presence of satyrs in it (see also the other authorities cited by Steffen s.v. fr. 23). This play is mentioned in *POxy* XX.2257 fr. 1 (Pack[2] No. 47), a discussion of plays that contain a change of scene.

6. *Daedalus*

The subject of his play was apparently the destruction of the Cretan
"robot" Talos by Jason and the Argonauts (see Pearson, i, 110).
If this is the case, then it is reasonable to argue that it was satyric,
as it would have adhered to the common satyric theme of the destruc-
tion of an ogre. Also there is a certain amount of reason for seeing a
"pairing" or "twinning" in Sophocles' plays, where a specific tragedy
has a close counterpart in a satyr play, in terms of subject matter.
Possible such pairs are the *Triptolemus* and the *Iambe* (see below) with a
common interest in Eleusinian mythology, the *Eris* (see below) and
the *Krisis*, dealing with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis and its
sequel, the Judgment of Paris, the *Athamas I* (see above) and the
Dionysiscus, about the infancy of Dionysus, the *Helenes Apatesis*, and
the *Helenes Gamos*, perhaps one of the *Phineus* plays or the *Tympanistai*
and the *Amycus*, dealing with adventures of the Argonauts on their
outward voyage, and perhaps some combination of the tragic *Amphi-
tryon* and *Trachinae* and the satyric *Heracleiscus* and *Heracles epi
Taenaroi*. See also s.v. *Telephus* below. Some resemblances are quite
likely accidental, arising merely from the fact that the range of mytho-
logical subjects is limited. But some pairings might have been deliberate.
There seems to have been a tendency to write a satyr play as a parody or
echo of a tragedy in the same set. Examples of such pairings are Aeschy-
lus' *Polydectes*/*Dictyulci*, for which see M. Werre-deHaas, *Aeschylus'
Dictyulci* (Leyden 1961) 74f; Euripides' *Alexander*/*Sisyphus*, for which
see Gilbert Murray, "The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides," *Mélanges
Glotz* (Paris 1932) 2. 646; Sophocles *Ajax*/*Ichneutai*, Euripides' *Hecuba*/
Cyclops and *Andromeda*/*Helen*, regarding this last as prosatyric, for
which see my *The Date of Euripides' Cyclops*, chap. III, sec. iii. Such
relationships are probably vestiges of the close relation of the satyr
play to the three tragedies of the original Aeschylean-type tetralogy.
The *Daedalus* is the "twin" of the tragic *Kamikoi*, for which see Pearson,
ii, 3–5, and it could be reasoned by analogy that the *Daedalus* is satyric.
Mention of an "Aetnean beetle," apparently a joke, in fr. 36 S, also
suggests this conclusion: see s.v. Aeschylus' *Sisyphys Petrocylistes* above.
Therefore, although such authorities as Guggisberg 104f do not con-
sider this play satyric, we may conclude that it was.

7. *Dionysiscus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Photius *Lex.*, ed.
Reitzenstein p. 82, 21 (= *Anecd. Graec. Bekk.* I, 385, 23).

8. *Helenes Gamos*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Aristides ii.399 and by Photius *Bibl.* 439A, who both attest to the presence of satyrs in it.

9. *Eris*

Fragment 47 S reads ἐγὼ δὲ πεῖνωσ'αὖ πρὸς ἴτρια βλέπω. Athenaeus XIV, 646D, defines an *itrion* as a cake made out of sesame and honey. It might be thought that mention of such detail of everyday life would be inappropriate to tragedy, but this fragment finds a good equivalent in fr. 350 N^2 of Euripides' *Erechtheus*:

καί μοι, πολὺν γὰρ πέλανον ἐκπέμπεις δόμων,
φράσον σελήνας τάσδε πυρίνου χλόης

Likewise, it might be thought that this play's title indicates that it was satyric. With the possible exception of Agathon's *Anthos*, if such was its title, we do not know of any tragedies named after abstractions or personified abstractions, but we can cite several satyr plays with such titles (cf. Sophocles' *Momus* and *Hybris*). But tragedies did in fact feature such characters as Lyssa in the *Hercules Furens* and Thanatos in the *Alcestis*, and as a personified quality Eris would not be out of place in a tragedy. Also, Pearson, i, 139f has constructed a good argument that this play and the *Krisis* (see below) formed a pair; for matched pairs of plays in Sophocles consisting of a tragedy and a satyr play on a common theme, see s.v. *Daedalus* above. Pearson reasons that in classical literature "ἔρις, especially in conjunction with κρίσις, appears as a fixed term for the quarrel of the three goddesses" and supposes that the *Eris* was a serious play about the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, followed by the satyric *Krisis* about the Judgment of Paris. Whether or not this is the case, the argument is strong enough to cast doubt on the assumption that the play's title is necessarily indicative of satyric nature, and we are obliged to suspend judgement.

10. *Heracleiscus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Orion *Flor.* 5, 9 p. 47, 24.

11. *Heracles*

This play, alternatively titled the Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ and the Εἵλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ σάτυροι, is shown to have been satyric by

Pollux X.10, Hesychius I, 272, and Photius *Lex.* p. 359, 25. See also s.v. *Cerberus* below.

12. *Iambe*

In acknowledging the existence of this play, Steffen stands virtually alone. Such authorities as Pearson and Guggisberg have discounted this, but they are probably wrong. The one authority to cite it is *Gramm. Cod. Darmstad*, in *Act. Monac.* ii.515: ἔστι δὲ τὸ φενακίζειν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοὺς φήληκας. Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰάμβῃ. Hermann has proposed reading ἐν Νιόβῃ for ἐν Ἰάμβῃ, and Nauck has suggested ἐν Ἀμύκῳ. The citation quoted above strongly suggests that the quotation is from a satyr play, which makes Hermann's conjecture doubtful; Nauck's emendation respects the satyric nature of the fragment, but is orthographically implausible. Hence there is no reason for doubting that Sophocles wrote an *Iambe* (see also below). From this notice it is not possible to reconstruct Sophocles' phraseology, but evidently he used the word φενακίζειν, common in comedy but never found in tragedy, and apparently a colloquialism: Steffen's emendation φηληκίζειν is unnecessary, as it does not seem obligatory to think that Sophocles was giving an etymology of that verb, or is being quoted to substantiate its derivation from φήληξ. In any case, the citation has a distinctly colloquial tone and so seems to indicate a satyr play. It has been suggested that the *Iambe* is merely an alternative title of the *Triptolemus*, and that the latter was a satyr play (cf. Brommer, Nos. 126 and 127). But there is no evidence in favor of the identification of these plays and no reason for regarding the *Triptolemus* as satyric (cf. Pearson, ii, 243). More likely these two plays were a paired tragedy/satyr play combination of the sort described s.v. *Daedalus*. A consideration favoring this is that it can be inferred from Pliny *NH* sviii.65 that the *Triptolemus* was produced in 468 B.C. (see Pearson, ii, 239), when the young Sophocles was presumably writing under the influence of Aeschylus, and relating the satyr play topically to the tragedies in the same set is an Aeschylean trademark. Pearson's objection that the myth of Demeter and Iambe is not suitable for dramatic treatment loses its cogency when it is shown that the *Iambe* was satyric.

13. *Inachus*

The acquisition of considerable papyrus fragments of the *Inachus* has provoked considerable debate whether it is a tragedy or a satyr

play. The understanding that it is satyric has been attacked by William M. Calder III in "'The Dramaturgy of Sophocles' *Inachus*," *GRBS* 1 (1958) 137–155, and N. E. Collinge, "Some Reflections on Satyr-Plays," *PCPhS* NS 5 (1958–59) 34f, and defended by R. Pfeiffer, "Ein neues Inachos-Fragment des Sophokles," *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* (1958) 6, and C. Pavese, "L'Inaco di Sofocle," *QUCC* 3 (1967) 31–50; Pfeiffer's "Die Netzfischer des Aischylos und der Inachos des Sophokles," *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* (1938) 2, also has an important bearing on the controversy. This debate can be ended by pointing to a previously neglected fact which shows conclusively that the *Inachus* is satyric: a violation of Porson's Law at *PTebt* 692 i.7. Violations of this "law of the final cretic" are absolutely forbidden in tragedy but occasionally tolerated in satyr plays (*Cyclops* 210, 681, 682, *Isthmiastai* fr. 21a S 7 and 23, *Ichneutai* 335, etc.), so that this violation proves the *Inachus* satyric. To be sure, A. Körte, in "Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen," *ArchP.* 11 (1935) 253, queried the ascription of *PTebt* 692 to this play, but the doubts he expressed were effectively answered by Pfeiffer in "Die Netzfischer" (1938) 57–59. Also, to the fragments in *SGF* should be added *POxy* XXIII.2369 (Pack² No. 1474), and the accusation of perfidy leveled against Zeus at *PTebt* 692 ii.13f seems explicable in terms of *POxy* 2369 i.25f so that there is apparently internal evidence that both represent the same play. We need not hesitate to consider the *Inachus* a satyr play. See my "Sophocles' *Inachus*", forthcoming in *Eos*.

14. *Ichneutai*

15. *Cerberus*

There is no proof that this play was satyric. It is only attested by Scholiast π on Aphthonius, ed. Rabe (*RhM* 42 [1907] 150), and *Cerberus* is usually regarded as merely an alternative title of the *Heracles* (see above), for instance by Pearson, i, 167 and Guggisberg 114: Hercules entered Hades at Mt. Taenarum in Laconia in order to bring up Cerberus, and an alternative title of the *Heracles* was the *Heracles on Taenarum*. This view is probably right, but one consideration is disturbing. It implies that that play circulated in antiquity under four different titles, which would be unprecedented and remarkable. For monumental evidence possibly relevant to this play, cf. Brommer, No. 166.

16. *Cedalion*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Herodianus περὶ μον. λέξ. p. 30, 28.

17. *Krisis*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Herodianus περὶ διχρ. in *Anecd. Graec. Oxon.* III.295, 10.

18. *Kophoi*

This play is shown to have been satyric by the Scholiasts on Apollonius of Rhodes I.972 and I.1126. It is mentioned and shown to have been written before 458 B.C. by the didascalic notice *POxy* XX.2256 fr. 3 (Pack² No. 46); its date is established by the fact that Aeschylus, who produced his last plays in 458, participated in the competition in which this play was produced. This new evidence does not contradict the fact that the *Kophoi* was satyric. The notice reads:

> ἐπὶ ἄρ[
> ἐνίκα [Αἰ]σχύλο[σ Ἱκέτισι Αἰγυπτίοισ
> Δαν[αί]σι Ἀμυ[μώνηι σατυρικῆι.
> δεύτ[ε]ρ[ο]σ Σοφοκλῆ[σ
> Μέσατοσ[[ν . [   ]   [5
> [[Βάκχαισ Κωφοῖ[σ
> Ποι]μέσιν Κυκν[ωι
>   σατυ(ρικῶι).

1 ἐπὶ Ἀρ[χεδημίδου? Lobel   7 Pieraccioni   Κύκλ[ωπι Lobel.

Evidently the scribe jumbled together titles of plays by Sophocles and the third competitor, Mesatus. See A. Lesky, "Die Datierung der *Hiketiden* und der Tragiker Mesatos," *Ges. Schrif.* (Berne - Munich 1967) 220–233, for the best analysis of this notice. This would explain the erasure of the titles. The *Bacchae* and the *Cycnus* (*Cyclops*?) are to be regarded as by Mesatus and the *Poimenes* and *Kophoi* by Sophocles. Whether the adjective σατυ — should be taken as evidence that the *Cycnus/Cyclops* was satyric (as held by Schmid, *GGL* II, 520 n. 15) or whether it gravitated from the *Kophoi* to this play as part of the scribal error, is not clear.

19. *Momus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by *Anecd. Graec. Bekk.* 1.423.1.

20. *Nausicaa, or Plyntriai*

There is no proof that this play was satyric, although it is occasionally regarded as such (e.g., by Schmid *GGL* I, ii, 442), on the slender grounds that Philyllius wrote an Old Comedy of the same double title, and Eubulus wrote a Middle Comedy *Nausicaa*, and presumably because it is felt that the encounter between Odysseus and Nausicaa is more suitable for satyric than for tragic treatment. But Pearson ii, 92 and Guggisberg 166, do not consider it satyric.

21. *Pandora or Sphyrokopoi*

The satyric nature of this play is guaranteed by two one-word fragments, 112 and 113 S, βλιμάζειν and ἐνουρήθρα, "to grab by the breast" and "piss-pot". For possible monumental evidence confirming this, see Brommer No. 17. Pearson, ii, 139, recognizes it as such, but Guggisberg 117 defers to Wilamowitz's unconvincing attempt to show it was a tragedy, *Aischylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 145 n. 3. Wilamowitz makes no attempt to show how frr. 122 and 113 S could stand in a tragedy, nor does he consider the monumental evidence, and bases his claim on the conjectural assignment of fr. 760 N² (844 P) to this play, in which case, he argues, the Chorus could not be made up of satyrs. But this ascription is uncertain. Welcker, cited by Pearson, iii, 56, assigns this fragment to the *Triptolemus*. We should not hesitate to consider this play satyric.

22. *Salmoneus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Galen, vol. 17, 1, pp. 879 and 881. For a possible papyrus fragment to be added to those in *SGF*, cf. *POxy* XV.1801 (Pack² No. 2121).

23. *Sisyphus*

There is no reason for regarding this play as satyric except its title. In the introduction to the previous installment of this study it was

shown by appeal to Arist., *Poet.* 1456A, that such inferences cannot be made. Pearson, ii, 184f and Guggisberg 119f not only question its satyric nature but its very existence, suggesting that the one authority to mention this play (Heyschius II, 256) errs in citing Sophocles, and actually is quoting from a *Sisyphus* play by Aeschylus or Euripides.

24. *Telephus*

There is a satyric *Telephus* attested on *IG* XII, 1, 125 fr. g (Snell *TrGF* DID A5 g). By joining fr. g of this inscription with frr. a and e, G. Kaibel "Scenische Aufführungen in Rhodes," *Hermes* 23 (1888) 269, attempted to prove Sophoclean authorship of this play. This was accepted by Hiller von Gaertingen, the editor of *IG* XII. If this jointure of the inscription were to be accepted, it would be attractive to relate this play to the Sophoclean *Telepheia* trilogy attested by *IG* II², 3091 (for which see M. Fromhold-Treu, "Die Telephos Trilogie des Sophokles," *Hermes* 69 [1934] 324–338). But Kaibel's proposed jointure of these fragments of the inscription is in fact impossible. Cf. L. Moretti, *Inscr. Gr. Urb. Rom. I* (Rome 1968) 192 with refs. Thus there is evidence for a satyric *Telephus*, but of unknown authorship.

25. *Hybris*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Stobaeus *Flor.* 26, 3.

26. *Syndeipnoi*

Because of his uncertainty whether this play was satyric, Steffen consigns it to a special appendix. Several facts indicate that it was not a tragedy. First, in one fragment (3 S, 565 P) a character complains of having had a chamber pot emptied over his head, and of the resulting stench. This is a close adaptation of a fragment of Aeschylus' *Ostologoi* (fr. 2 S, this play being consigned to the same appendix). Pearson, ii, 201, observes that "it is contrary to the character of Sophoclean tragedy to permit the introduction of a deliberate imitation of Aeschylus." Second, the humorous indecency of the passage is thoroughly incompatible with the requisite dignity of tragedy. Despite Wecklein's assertion (cf. Pearson, ii, 200) that what would be intolerable on stage would be acceptable in a narration, which is dubious, it seems axiomatic that such a passage is quite subversive of the dignified grandeur

required by tragedy (cf. the remarks in the introduction to Part One of this study). Third, Pearson, II, 201, writes that it "was by no means a tragedy in the modern sense of the word. Its leading motive was trivial enough, and even in the few fragments that remain it is possible to recognize here and there a bantering tone (see frr. 563, 564)," by which he means frr. 1 and 2 S. But although most authorities agree that the *Syndeipnoi* was not a tragedy, it is disputed whether it was satyric or a prosatyric *Nachspiel*. It is considered satyric by W. N. Bates, "The Satyr Dramas of Sophocles", *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), 21, but as prosatyric by Pearson and Guggisberg 120. The grounds for thinking it was prosatyric are set forth by Pearson. First, the subject of this play was the quarrel of the Achaean chieftains at the banquet at Tenedos, and Pearson writes, "There can be no satyr-play without a chorus of satyrs . . . and, though the satyrs might have been introduced as cooks (see fr. 563), just as they appear elsewhere as hammerers (σφυροκόποι) and acolytes (κήρυκες), it is difficult to imagine how or why they came to Tenedos, and the title . . . rather points to a chorus of chieftains." In the introduction to this study, it was noted that plays are often named after an essential quality or function of the chorus. I should have added that from this it does not necessarily follow that whenever a play is given a title consisting of a noun in the plural, the noun designates the chorus. Aeschylus' *Edonians* for instance, is an interesting exception to this general practice. The chorus of that play consists of Dionysus' followers, not of Lycurgus' Edonian subjects, as one would assume from the title. This observation robs Pearson's argument of it cogency. Even if the *syndeïpnoi* cannot be the satyrs, we are not obliged to think that this word necessarily described the play's chorus. Pearson's other point in favor of this play being prosatyric is the allegation that fr. 568 P (6 S) is too eloquently lyrical for a satyr play. But who is to say that satyr plays never contained flights of eloquence? The argument against this play being prosatyric, on the other hand, is powerful. Although a certain amount of boisterousness is introduced in the scene of the feasting Heracles in the *Alcestis*, it is noteworthy that the decorum of tragedy is preserved in that play. What business do we have, in the absence of very strong evidence, to categorize the *Syndeipnoi* with a play that it patently does *not* resemble? "Satyric until proven otherwise" is the only possible verdict. The old view (adopted by Nauck in *TGF²*) that the *Syndeipnoi* and the *Achaiōn Syllogē* are alternate titles of one play is now long since discredited, as noted by Pearson, and Steffen rightly departs from Nauck and does not print the fragments of the *Sylloge*.

But the question then arises — which of the testimonia collected by Nauck, *TGF*², 161, pertain to which play? It should therefore be noted that the following testimonia possibly pertain to the *Syndeipnoi* (Quint. X.i.66 seems of doubtful relevance to either):

1. Proclus *Chrest.* p. 456.
2. Philodemus περὶ ὀργῆς p. 66.
3. Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 24 p. 1401B 17.

SUMMARY

We may group the plays studied in the above pages into two categories, those that are provably satyric and those that are not. Plays for which there are at least possible new fragments are indicated with an asterisk. There are twenty-one plays in the first category, four in the second; Sophocles wrote approximately thirty tetralogies (cf. Pearson, i, xiii–xxi). See also s.v. Anon., *Oeneus*(?) in Part I.

I. Plays that are Demonstrably Satyric

Admetus	*Ichneutai*
Amycus	*Cedalion*
Amphiareos	*Krisis*
*Achilleos Erastai	**Kophoi*
Daedalus	*Momus*
Dionysiscus	*Pandora or Sphyrokopoi*
Helenes Gamos	**Salmoneus*
Heracleiscus	*Hybris*
Heracles	**Syndeipnoi*
Iambe	
*Inachus	

II. Plays that are not Demonstrably Satyric

Athamas
Cerberus
Nausicaa or Plyniriai
Telephus (demonstrably satyric, but
     not demonstrably Sophoclean)

IV. EURIPIDES

1. *Autolycus*

Athenaeus, X 413C, quotes from "Euripides' *First Autolycus*," which Steffen, like Nauck and others before him, refused to accept:

cf. also Steffen's "The Satyr-Dramas of Euripides," *Eos* 59 (1971) 213, and this is also the opinion of Guggisberg 124. But in an article entitled "The Evidence for a Ninth Euripidean Satyr Play," forthcoming in *Eos* 62 (1974), I have shown several reasons for thinking that Athenaeus' testimony should be believed. First, there are four fragments of this play. The first is an extended diatribe against athletes. It is written in a very conservative style with little iambic resolution and looks like a fragment of an early play. But frr. 2 and (according to a very probable emendation) 3 S, are in trochaics, which in a Euripidean tragedy would be indicative of lateness. Second, thanks to Tzetzes, *Chil.* VIII.459, it is known that the subject of "Euripides' *Autolycus*" was Autolycus' theft of Sisyphus' cattle and Sisyphus' device for recovering them (cf. Hyginus *Fab.* 201). It is difficult to see how a diatribe against athletes (which Guggisberg was obliged to term a "parabasis" because of its flagrant irrelevance) could figure in a play written on this subject. Third, in the biography prefixed to some Euripidean manuscripts we read σῴζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα ξζʹ καὶ γʹ πρὸς τούτοις ἀντιλεγόμενα, σατυρικὰ δὲ ηʹ. ἀντιλέγεται καὶ τούτων τὸ ᾱ. Τὸ ᾱ is a difficult phrase to understand. Because of the article it evidently does not mean "one of them" (cf. s.v. *Sisyphus* below), and it would be an exceedingly odd circumlocution for "the first" (i.e., the *Autolycus*, assuming there to be only one play of this title). But it might be best understood as referring to two or more plays of the same title, suggested by the way plays were catalogued: the *capsa* containing plays of this letter, so, by extension, plays beginning with the same letter. This is all the more attractive because the eight satyr plays known to the biographer as still extant in his time cannot be the same eight plays which we know by title and are considering here. We have the explicit testimony of Aristophanes of Byzantium in his Hypothesis to the *Medea* that the *Theristai* was not extant in the Alexandrian period. The above considerations are sufficient to make it plain that Athenaeus' evidence for two *Autolycus* plays, both of which can be inferred from the *Life* to have been satyric, cannot be ignored.

2. *Busiris*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Diomedes, p. 490, 20. For a fragment that possibly should be added to those in *SGF*, see *POxy* XXVII.2455 fr. 19 = Diodorus Siculus XX.xl.6 (not noted s.v. *Busiris* by Pack[2]): cf. B. Snell, appendix to *TGF*[2], fr. 312a, and also the justification in *Hermes* 91 (1963) 495, and Schmid *GGL* I

iii 626. This has been challenged, however, by by E. G. Turner, "Euripidean Hypotheses in a New Papyrus," *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo 1958) 1–17, and Steffen, "The Satyr-Dramas of Euripides," s.v. *Autolycus*, 216–218.

3. *Eurystheus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Pollux, X.108 and X.145. To the fragments in *SGF* should be added *Lex. Vind.* ψ 6 (fr. 379a in Snell's appendix to *TGF²*).

4. *Theristai*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Aristophanes of Byzantium's Hypothesis to the *Medea*.

5. *Sisyphus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Aelian *V.H.* II.8. A Hypothesis to this play is given by *POxy* XXVII.2455 fr. 5 (Pack² No. 453). According to Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (Berlin 1921) 40, this play was lost early and the *Sisyphus* of Critias was then attributed to him. There is evidence for the occasional confusion of these two plays (though note that that of Critias is not demonstrably satyric; on plays with the title *Sisyphus*, see the introduction to this study), but N. Chourmouziades, "Satyrika," *Hellenika* 21 (1968) 160–163, has very properly called this view into question.

6. *Sciron*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Pollux X.35. A Hypothesis to this play is given by *POxy* XXVII.2455 frr. 6f (Pack² No. 453). It should also be noted that Steffen's attribution of *PAmh* II.17 to this play has been queried by G. Zuntz in *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955) 134, and by Steffen himself, "Euripides' Sciron und der Prolog der Lamia", *Eos* 69 (1971), 25–33.

7. *Syleus*

This play is shown to have been satyric by Tzetzes, *Prolegomena in Aristophanes* ed. Keil 119 (Kaibel, *CGF* i 21). A Hypothesis to this play is given by *POxy* XXVII.2455 frr. 7f (Pack² No. 453).

SUMMARY

All of the plays by Euripides registered in *SGF* are demonstrably satyric, and there are grounds for thinking that a second satyr play of the title *Autolycus* circulated under his name in antiquity. Additional fragments have been noted for the *Busiris*(?), *Eurystheus*, *Sisyphus*, *Sciron*, and *Syleus*.

Steffen, "The Satyr-Dramas of Euripides," s.v. *Autolycus*, estimated that Euripides wrote about twenty tetralogies. We know of eight (or nine, counting the second *Autolycus*) satyr plays, and one prosatyric play, the *Alcestis*. It has been argued that there is evidence for a satyric *Π*[. . . on *IG* II/III *ed. min.* 2363, 45, by Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875) 158f, and more recently by Steffen (see above), but I have shown (s.v. *Autolycus*), that this is illusory.

DARWIN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE MYTH OF PINDAR'S FIRST NEMEAN: SPORTSMEN, POETRY, AND PAIDEIA

PETER W. ROSE

For John Finley

THE relevance of a Pindaric myth has been a fundamental element in the debate about the unity of a Pindaric ode. In the last few years the elucidation of Pindaric odes has received fresh impetus, particularly from the impressive efforts of Bundy, Young, Thummer, and recently Koehnken.[1] Yet if there have been valuable gains, there have also been important losses. Though of course one may say a myth is open-ended, I believe there are at least two levels on which we should explore the relevance of a Pindaric ode to Pindar's audience and to us. In the first section I would like to describe those levels, setting forth what I consider the necessary qualifications, corrections, and extensions of the critical assumptions of these scholars. In the second section I will illustrate both these levels of relevance in a detailed analysis of Pindar's First Nemean Ode.

I

The first level of relevance involves the correspondences between the myth and the victor, usually including — with varying degrees of

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[1] E. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* I, II (= *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 18, 1962, 1–34 and 35–92). David Young, "Pindaric Criticism" *Minnesota Review* 4 (1964) 584–641, reprinted and revised in W. M. Calder and J. Stern *Wege der Forschung 134: Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Darmstad 1970) 1–95. Since the earlier version has been extremely influential (justly so) and since the revisions of the later version reveal significant developments, I will distinguish them as Young "Criticism" (MR) and Young "Criticism" (WF) respectively, citing only the later, more accessible version where they agree, in accordance with the author's wishes. Also by David Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968), hereafter cited as Young, *Three Odes*, and *Pindar Isthmian 7, Myth and Exemplum* (Leiden 1971), hereafter cited as Young *Myth*. E. Thummer, *Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte* I, II (Heidelberg 1968, 1969). A. Koehnken *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971).

In revising this article I incurred many debts to students, colleagues, and friends. For especially helpful detailed comments I must gratefully single out A. T. Cole, P. M. Green, C. P. Segal, and R. P. Winnington-Ingram. All remaining errors are my exclusive responsibility.

emphasis — the circumstances of his victory, his homeland, his family and his political situation. Bundy, who follows in the footsteps of Schadewaldt,[2] and those on whom Bundy has had a profound influence, lay heavy emphasis on the purely conventional elements of Pindar's handling of the epinician genre and insist that the primary intent of every passage is encomiastic — designed to enhance the glory of a particular patron.[3] Although Bundy himself says nothing about the principles which determine the choice and handling of a particular myth, he seems to operate on the assumption that athletic considerations are primary. It is perhaps significant that the only mythic passage he attempts to discuss is about Iolaos and Kastor, both of whom are presented there chiefly as athletes. Kastor, together with his brother, seem to have been the most traditional mythic *exempla* of narrow relevance to the celebration of athletic victories.[4] Certainly Bundy's

[2] W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischer Epinikion* Halle 1938 (= *Schriften der Koenigsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 5. 3, 259–343). See especially 309–314 on myth where he begins with the classification by G. Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam Aetatem historia* (Leipsig 1909) of myths as either (1) related to the type and place of the victory, (2) related to the victor's homeland and family, or (3) related to the victor as exempla or paradeigmata. The inadequacy of Schadewaldt's treatment of the mythic element in Pindar was pinpointed by Hermann Fraenkel in his review *Wege und Formen Fruehgriechischen Denkens* (3d ed. Munich 1968) 355 (= *Gnomon* 6, 1930, 6), a critique cited with approval by Koehnken (above, n. 1) 10.

[3] Bundy (above, n. 1) 3, 35, and passim. Young "Criticism" (WF) (above, n. 1) after an excellent critique of Bundy's narrowness (87–88), proceeds to describe Bundy's work as "probably the most important work of this century" (88). Young's subsequent work, *Three Odes* (above, n. 1) 1, 27, 28, 107 and *Myth* (above, n. 1) passim suggests a tightening of Bundy's hold on him though he remains far more open to Pindar's real greatness than Bundy. His slight upgrading of Fraenkel in "Criticism" (WF) 66 – cf. MR version 612 – is, on the other hand, quite heartening (see n. 9 below). Thummer (above, n. 1) I,10, acknowledges his manifest closeness to Bundy, whereas the basis of his disagreements (I,11) with Bundy is less clear. To give Thummer his "due," however, it should be noted that already in his pre-Bundy work, *Die Religiositaet Pindars* (Innsbruck 1957), the changes Pindar makes in traditional versions of myths are consistently explained as deference to the addressee. See especially his polemic against M. C. van der Kolf 12–20. Koehnken (above, n. 1) 14, 229, also criticizes Bundy's incapacity to deal with the mythic element in Pindar, yet a chief result of his own work is to prove Bundy's critique of previous scholarship (228); and problems are resolved by showing their relevance to praise of the victor, e.g. 220 and passim.

[4] Bundy (above, n. 1) 44–47 on *Isthmian* 1.14–32. For the traditional role of Kastor and Polydeukes see H. Fraenkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des fruehen Griechentums* (2d ed. Munich 1962) 493–494. hereafter cited as Fraenkel,

followers have been most concerned with elucidating the relevance of particular myths to the encomiastic intent.[5]

These scholars have defined the prime "enemy" as those who believe Pindar guilty of topical allusions and personal aims,[6] yet their quarrel with the historical symbolists[7] remains for the most part, at least where the myth is concerned, an internal struggle between groups who share a fundamental assumption, namely, that the chief interest of any given Pindaric myth is the relation of the details of the myth to the details of the victor's circumstances. Their disagreement is over the breadth of those circumstances which merit consideration. For the strict Bundyists only those circumstances which involve the victor's identity as a professional athlete seeking enduring praise are relevant; for the historical symbolists the victor's identity includes his social and political roles — whether or not there is evidence available.

In general I agree with Young's conclusion in *Three Odes*: "Private situations and events, with the obvious important exception of those somehow relevant to the encomiastic poem, have apparently been stripped of their private reference, presented as exoteric generalities,

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Dichtung, and B. A. van Groningen, *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958) 324, n. 2.

[5] Thummer (above, n. 1) is perhaps the most relentlessly mechanical in his insistence on the narrow relevance of the myth to the victor (I.110–121). Young (above, n. 1), though he rather gently takes Thummer to task for his excesses (*Myth* 36–37), tends to discuss the myth almost exclusively in terms of its relevance to the victor (e.g. *Myth* 28, 42). He is, however, well aware of some broader implications of mythic exempla; he just rarely discusses them (*Myth* 43). His beautiful analysis of P.3 (*Three Odes* 27–68), not an epicinician, shows the finest awareness of the relation between the particular *laundandus* and the broader relevance (see esp. 50). For Koehnken (above, n. 1) see n. 3 above. I find his trivializing "solutions" to the problems of N.8 perhaps the most disturbing section of his impressive book (see 24–36). Compare his analysis with the judgment of John Finley, *Pindar and Aeschulus* (Cambridge 1955), "If there is (to one man's taste at least) a poem more evenly admirable than others, it is N.8," and with Finley's analysis 159–160.

[6] E.g. Bundy (above, n. 1) 35, Young (above, n. 1) "Criticism" (WF) 9f and passim, *Three Odes* 1, Thummer (above, n. 1) 10, Koehnken (above, n. 1) 228.

[7] The most frequently cited villains are A. Boeckh, *Pindari opera quae supersunt*, 2 vols. in four parts (Leipzig 1811–1821); L. Dissen, *Pindari carmina quae supersunt* (Gotha and Erfurt 1830), who was also responsible for the commentary on the Nemeans and Isthmians in Boeckh's edition; J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London 1890) and *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London 1892); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922); L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar*, 3 vols. (1930–32), and C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964).

and subordinated to the literary aims of the poem" (106). We certainly do not want to return to the absurd invention of personal and historical circumstances to fit details of the myth such as Young rightly ridicules.

Yet there are at least two significant equivocations in his statement that involve a certain circularity. What determines if a personal or historical circumstance is "somehow relevant to the encomiastic poem"? What are the "literary aims" of a poem which dictates the stripping away of the purely personal and esoteric? The thrust of Young's analyses consistently points to the conclusion that the "literary aims" of "the encomiastic poem" amount to effective praise of the victor. I will attempt below in discussing the second level of relevance to give an account of the literary aims of this generalization of the victor. My specific objection, at the first level, to the Bundyists is that their fury at the aberrations of the historical symbolists and their obsession with encomiastic conventions frequently gives the impression that the generally high and frequently exalted political station of Pindar's patrons is irrelevant to a full understanding and appreciation of his poems. Similarly they often seem bent on convincing us that Pindar's poetry is utterly untouched by the wars which shook the Greek world during his lifetime. In short, they seem bent on offering us a poet totally purged of the noxious taint of social and political reality, who functions in a self-generated world of pure poetry. Let me just list fourteen odes where the social and political status of the victor and/or major military events involving his home are intrinsic elements in the text: *Olympians* 1 and 2; *Pythians* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; *Nemean* 9; *Isthmians* 5, 7, and 8. Young's own analysis of *Pythian* 11 very nicely brings out the fundamental significance of the political and social role of the victor. At the same time his sharpest barbs are reserved for those who have presumed to look for some historical resonances. Similarly in the case of *Isthmian* 7, Young has raised cogent arguments against past attempts at specific dating of the ode in terms which imply the folly of looking for any historical relevance in the odes. Yet his fine analysis of the paradeigmatic role of the victor's uncle and the conventional parallelism of athletic and military prowess[8] suggests how deeply praise of the victor is involved with the military posture of his homeland. It might be more accurate to say that private situations and events, with the obvious, important exception of those which have a political and ideological relevance for a significant segment of Pindar's panhellenic audience, have been omitted. But one should add that in

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[5] Young (above, n. 1) *Myth* 38–40.

view of the political and social prominence of so many of his patrons, many circumstances of their lives were perceived by the poet as having that broader relevance.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

The second level of relevance of a Pindaric myth, once the chief focus of those who thought Pindar worth reading, has fallen on hard days in the hands of the Bundyists. I am speaking of the level of panhellenic *paideia*, the poet's presentation of mythic paradeigmata believed to exhibit ideals of permanent value to Greek society and in particular to the Greek aristocracy.[9] The Bundyists insist that the only significant aim of Pindar is to praise the victor. But, as C. P. Segal well reminds us in his review of Thummer, "great works of art regularly transcend the author's 'purpose'" — especially when it is conceived "at a very low level."[10] Even granting the primacy of the encomiastic intent, one cannot but find Bundy's analysis of Pindar's art bizarrely myopic. Fundamental to Pindar's relation to his patrons is his promise that he will bring them immortality, and this "purpose" demands that he have a general, enduring appeal to more of Greek society than to the victor himself and the small circle of those who are already personally devoted to him. Though the aesthetic satisfaction of following the poet's adroit manipulation of encomiastic conventions could conceivably have sufficed to hold the attention of a

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[9] Fraenkel (above, nn. 2 and 4) seems to be the chief butt of their attack, e.g. Koehnken (above, n. 1) 6, 14. Young, in his revised version of "Criticism" (WF) 66, has added a graceful and well-deserved tribute to Fraenkel's merits as a critic and as an explicator of Pindar's thought. Yet in relation to the question of unity, he has merely softened his earlier judgment, "Criticism" (MR) 612, that Fraenkel's discoveries are "*pitifully* insignificant" to "rather insignificant" (emphasis added). It is of course their legitimate concern for unity which justified in part their rejection of Fraenkel's untenable thesis that unity cannot reside in the individual ode, but rather in the system of values revealed by the corpus of odes as a whole (*Dichtung* 554, 558). At the same time, one gets the unpleasant feeling that those who stress this error in Fraenkel are unfairly ignoring his impressive interpretations of particular odes, where he demonstrates fine sensitivity to many of the problems of unity, and are unjustly rejecting his valuable analysis of Pindar's mode of perceiving and interpreting the world around him. Young, in summing up Pindar's achievement, says most judiciously: "His subject, human accomplishment, is catholic and momentous" (*Three Odes*, 112), yet little sense either of Pindar's unique vision of this subject nor the basis for its relevance to Pindar's audience or to us emerges from the analysis of his adroit recombinations of traditional ideas and conventional themes.

[10] C. P. Segal, *Classical Journal* 64 (1969) 332.

handful of Pindar's listeners, the thesis that this is the primary interest
of a Pindaric ode strikes me as preposterous.[11] There is so much more
to great poetry than that — particularly Greek poetry. As Finley, one
of the more sensitive modern interpreters of Pindar, rightly observes,
"The clear fact . . . remains, that, before Socrates, the Greeks received
from the poets alone their central interpretations of reality."[12] Pindar
does not see himself simply as the *laudator* of the *laudandus*; that
relationship is one in which, again to quote Finley, "he expounds
reality through the legendary figures and partly also through divinized
abstractions."[13] This is not to revive the old alleged conflict between
the objective aim (praise of the victor) and the subjective aim (irrelevant
private concerns of Pindar).[14] Pindar self-consciously "praises" his
patrons by setting their achievement in the context of what he con-
siders absolute being, the sphere of the ideals of the Greek ruling class
as embodied in the myths.

The use of myths to reinforce social and political structures and
norms of behaviour is generally acknowledged as one of the major
functions of myth in most societies.[15] The less self-conscious the society,

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[11] Bundy (above, n. 1) 91–92. He argues (35f) that the genre in which Pindar
works is inherently repellent to modern taste and all aberrations of Pindaric
scholarship are to be explained as compensations for the inadequate interest of
the poems themselves. Young (above, n. 1) *Three Odes* 107 tries to anticipate
the objection that his analysis may "conjure up a vision of a poet ticking off one
conventional theme after another with great ease but slight profundity or
originality." Yet his subsequent attempt to sum up the "genius," "poetic
meaning," and perfection of P.11 still amounts to augmenting a "conventional
topos" to allow for another "conventional praise" and uniting these "against
and with a background composed of the horrendous mythical tradition of the
infamous house of Agamemnon" (108).

[12] Finley (above, n. 5) 16–17. For further discussion of the unique centrality
of poetry in the fabric of Greek society before Plato, see E. A. Havelock, *A
Preface to Plato* (Cambridge 1963).

[13] Finley (above, n. 5) 19. He also notes the high degree of Pindar's self-
consciousness about this process relative to Homer's use of myth.

[14] Young (above, n. 1), "Criticism" (WF) 8, 60f and passim.

[15] The classic statement of this view of myth is in B. Malinowski, *Myth in
Primitive Psychology* (New York 1926) especially 28–29. I certainly do not mean
to imply that this is *the* function of myth. But even the ever-cautious Kirk, who
most emphatically stresses the multiplicity of the functions of myth, grants
Malinowski's "charter" theory of myth is a valid description of one important
function; see G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other
Cultures* (Berkeley 1970) 20–22 and passim. For even more stringent cautions,
see Kirk, "Aetiology, Ritual, Charter: Three Equivocal Terms in the Study
of Myths," *YCS* 22 (1972) 83–102, especially 97f. Claude Lévi-Strauss,
though his name is most frequently associated with a structural theory of

the more indirect may be the forms this mythic reinforcement takes. In Greek society, however, there were already by Pindar's time vigorous attacks on myth as a didactic social vehicle which anticipate the replacement of myth by philosophy as the primary vehicle for serious explicit teaching of political, social, and ethical concepts.[16] A striking characteristic of Pindar's use of mythology is precisely his self-conscious purging and remolding of traditional myths for explicitly didactic reasons. It has become fashionable to downgrade this aspect of Pindar's use of mythology by stressing how often Pindar's "corrections" of stories about gods or heroes amount to implicit enhancement of the glory of his patrons with whom the mythological figures are in some sense paralleled. An inherently profound religious concept is diminished in worth, we are told, because it obeys "pragmatic" goals of praising victors.[17] Here again we are confronted with a misconceived either/or. Enhancement of the image of the gods, particularly in their relations with heroes, serves the same purpose as enhancement of the ethical stature of the victor: both mutually reinforce a vision of a fundamentally harmonious partnership of the forces beyond human control and the human beings who control society. The resulting visions of reality which Pindar offers in such poems (the vision is not always the same) are clearly more compelling as a result of the intellectual daring with which he imposes coherence upon his raw material.

Furthermore, the class posture of Pindar's didactic use of myth is suggested by his preference for myths which view the achievement of the victor as the validation of his blood heritage — literally where possible, otherwise what we might call "metaphorically," that is, as if the heroes of the victor's homeland were direct bloodline ancestors.

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myth as the attempted mediation of contradictions (see Kirk, *ibid.* chap. II, and passim), acknowledges and indeed has made valuable contributions to our understanding of myth's function in reinforcing social, political, and ethical structures. See his "The Story of Asdiwal" reprinted in E. Leach, *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism* (London 1967) especially 29–30, where he warns of the possibility of the extreme indirection by which institutions may be reinforced in primitive myth.

[16] E.g. Xenophanes D-K 21 B 1. 21–4, 10, 11, Heracleitus D-K 22 B 40, 42, 56, 57, 104, 106. See E. A. Havelock, "Pre-Literacy and the Pre-Socratics," *BICS* (1966) 44–67.

[17] See especially G. Pini, "Correzioni di miti in Pindaro" *Vichiana* 4 (1967) 379, 381–382 and passim. Also Thummer's response to the pious van der Kolf (above, n. 3). Young (above, n. 1) *Three Odes* 34f cites and effectively criticizes earlier naive statements of Pindar's didactic motives in changing his source. But what Young defines as Pindar's "poetic goals" in the ode emerge from his fine analysis as a higher *paideia*, e.g. 68.

This aspect of Pindar's myths, namely their functional relation to the aristocratic concept of inherited excellence, used to be something of an agreed-upon commonplace of Pindaric scholarship.[18] However, since Pindar's aristocratic vision, conveniently summed up in the term *phya*, has either been ignored, distorted, or explicitly downgraded by the scholars under consideration, it may not be inappropriate to touch briefly on the relevant evidence. I count twenty-three odes in which the excellence of the victor is presented as "inherited" from the heroes of his homeland: *Olympians* 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, *Pythians* 4, 5, 9, *Nemeans* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, *Isthmians* 1, 3–4, 5, 6 ,8. Of these, all but O.9 and N.3 also emphasize a purely literal sense of inherited excellence by associating the victor's achievement with those of particular relatives and/or of his specific family line. In O.9 and N.3, where presumably the family of the victors was not sufficiently distinguished to permit specific praise, Pindar is nonetheless strikingly emphatic in proclaiming the principle of inherited excellence (O.9 100f, N.3. 40f). The myth of P.8, though not drawn from the victor's homeland or family, explicitly illustrates the principle of inherited excellence (P.8.44f). Similarly, as I will demonstrate, the myth of *Nemean* I is offered by the poet in proof of the principle of inherited excellence.

But what above all determines the centrality of this idea to Pindar's myths and his praise of the victor is the aspect least noticed by those who speak of "conventional praise," namely the uniquely rich variety of terms with which he insists relentlessly on the genealogical principle. Consideration of this vocabulary should include terms denoting "inborn" (φυά, συγγενής, σύγγονος, σύμφυτος, ἐμφυής, ἐμφύλιος, γενναῖος, γνήσιος), terms denoting the victor's family or race (αἷμα, γενεά, γέννα, γενέθλιος, γένος, δόμος, ἔθνος, ματραδελφεός, ματήρ, ματροδόκος, ματρόθεν, ματρομάτωρ, μάτρως, πατήρ, πατραδελφεός, πάτριος, πατρώϊος, πατροπάτωρ, πρόγονος, οἴκοθεν, οἶκος), terms for offspring (παῖς, γόνος, ἔκγονος, ἀριστόγονος, τέκνον, θάλος) terms for the physical process of transmission of excellence (φύω, φυτεύω, μίγνυμι, γίνομαι, τίκτω, γονά, σπέρμα, Ἐλείθυια). If to these were added all the proper names which associate the victor's excellence

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[18] E.g. L. Illig, *Zur Form der Pindarischen Erzaehlung* (Berlin 1932) 12–13; H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1935) 15–19. W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, 2d ed., trans. G. Highet (New York 1939) I 214, put it succinctly, "Areta is not only the root of all Pindar's faith, but the guiding structural principle of his poetry," a statement singled out for ridicule by Young (above, n. 1) "Criticism" (WF) 70.

with that of his relatives, his homeland conceived as a mother, his homeland's heroes conceived as ancestors, and if then full consideration were given to the imagery of plants[19] and fields fused with imagery of human reproduction, one might begin to get some sense of the unique impress of this doctrine. Surely if one looked at the way all these elements are combined in the odes, one could only be amazed at Bundy's explication of the term φυά as the "natural enthusiasm" of the *laudator* for his theme, the *laudandus*.[20]

Even Young, who consistently shows deeper understanding of Pindar, goes out of his way to play down this aspect of the poet:

One might argue, with some credibility, that Pindar, apparently belonging to an aristocracy, believes more in the concept of "blood" . . . than does Bacchylides (in the comparative paucity of Bacchylides' work, Bacch. 1. 140–151 might suffice to show the difference not overwhelming).[21]

He then speaks of a "Greek belief in something like genes." To speak of "genes" is even more misleading than the term "blood," which Young questions, for both ignore the curious fusion, which Pindar's language especially reinforces, of the metaphorical "inheritance" of qualities from mythic heroes with literal bloodline transmission of excellence in a particular aristocratic *oikos*. Bacchylides may be too fragmentary for valid comparisons to Pindar's handling of this motif, yet what evidence there is suggests what I at least consider "an overwhelming difference" between occasional use (Young cites one eleven-line passage; actually he might have added the allusion to a local hero in 2.8 and the focus on the descendants of Asopus of 9.40f) of a traditional motif and Pindar's consistent transformation of that motif into a unique vision of reality. Most revealing perhaps is the contrast between *Bacchylides* 13 and Pindar's *Nemean* 5, both composed for the same victory. Bacchylides celebrates the heroes of the island, yet never presents that excellence as explicitly the victor's by birth, nor does he refer to other victories in the specific family. In Pindar's poem, the victor "honors the Aeacids and the city his mother" (8) the myth celebrates a marriage of an Aeacid won by virtue, the victor's brother falls in the arms of *Nike* (42), his uncle honors him, "a scion of the same stock as Peleus" (43 Bowra's translation) and lest anyone miss the point, the poet declares explicitly πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς

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[19] See G. McCracken, "Pindar's Figurative Use of Plants," *AJP* 55 (1934) 340–345.
[20] Bundy (above, n. 1) 4 and cf. 16.
[21] Young (above, n. 1) *Three Odes* 113 n. 4.

ἔργων πέρι/πάντων (40–41). One can only conclude that Young's fear
of committing the sin of sociology has blinded him to a fundamental
aspect of Pindar's poetic vision.[22]

The qualities (*aretai*), both physical and ethical, associated with the
principle of inherited excellence (*phya*) — such as strength, daring,
military prowess, foresight, hospitality, justice, and generosity — are
presented of course as characteristic of the victor. But the primary
relevance of these values to Pindar's aristocratic audience is effected by
the consistent generalizing cast of Pindar's language[23] and by his clear
preference for myths which are panhellenic in interest[24] and encompass
a range of human activity vastly broader than athletic contests or even
warfare seen as the doublet of athletics.[25] Because of the interchange-
ability of different kinds of excellence,[26] the success of any member of

[22] More recently Young's attack on *phya* in Pindar has shifted from talking of
"genes" to "innate instinct." See "Pindar *Nemean* 7: Some Preliminary
Remarks vv. 1–20)" *TAPA* 101 (1970) 638 n. 24 where he cites as "important"
a note by Tugendhat on *phya*. The substance of that note is to chide Pindarists
for speaking of *phya* as a "thing" since it is used most significantly by Pindar
in the dative case and therefore denotes a "means." The significance of Pindar's
dative uses of *phya* was discussed along similar but clearer lines by F. Heini-
mann, *Nomos und Physis* (Basel 1945) 99. It is true that Pindar's presentation
of the role of birth builds upon a general Greek belief in inherited qualities
(not the same as "instincts," a modern concept). But Pindar's unique contexts,
the whole odes in which these instances of *phya* occur, give this idea a distinctly
aristocratic coloring. See W. Haedicke, *Die Gedanken der Griechen ueber Familien-
herkunft und Vererbung* (Diss. Halle 1936) 50–56.

[23] Bundy (above, n. 1) complains with some justice of excessive stress on the
vagueness of Pindar's vocabulary: "no commentator will inform his readers
that Εὐφροσύνα in N.4.1 (personified abstract for concrete) is a poetic word for a
victory revel." Undoubtedly the concrete associations of many words with the
immediate situation of the poem contribute to its poetic power, but to ignore
the constant tendency of Pindar to present every aspect of the victor's relation
to the games in language so vague (e.g. πόνοι, κάματος, ἄποινα) as to invite the
broadest association is to turn his poetry upside down. Bundy's statement on
page 11 at first sight looks more reasonable: "The audience know that the
laudator is thinking of athletic success, but the language still permits them to
apply it universally." He still implies the poet has a narrower vision than his
audience — a rather unlikely proposition, unless Bundy means by "audience"
a panhellenic and even posthumous audience.

[24] See J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London–New York 1968)
301–302, who contrasts Pindar's writing "*orbi*" to Corinna writing "*urbi*."
See also Finley (above, n. 5) 24.

[25] Young (above, n. 1) *Myth* 39f. Herodotos 9.33 is a particularly neat gloss
on the pervasiveness of this parallelism of war and contests.

[26] Fraenkel (above, n. 4) *Dichtung* 558. See also his discussion of the device
of the Priamel (524) as a means of expressing the correspondence of high merits

the ruling class in any significant sphere of endeavor validates the status and claims of superiority of the whole rest of the class. It is no mere coincidence that the great games enter the realm of history in the very period when the aristocratic form of government was extending its hold over the entire Greek world. Whatever other functions the games may have served, they constituted from the time of their inception and at least until the end of the fifth century a conspicuous arena for demonstrations of the superiority of the ruling class.[27]

To sum up, then, my principal objections to the emerging Bundyist consensus: by focusing on encomiastic conventions they have indeed freed Pindar of the old charges of aesthetic irrelevance, but only at the unnecessary cost of draining his poems and in particular his myths of their broader paideutic relevance, their fundamental function as self-conscious interpretations of reality for the benefit of the Greek aristocracy.

II

Turning to the text of *Nemean* 1, I hope it is clear from my preceding discussion that level one, praise of the victor, and level two, aristocratic *paideia*, are thoroughly fused in the language of the epinician odes, because normally the victor himself emerges as the exemplar of the aristocratic virtues celebrated in the poem. Accordingly, in analyzing the text, I will attempt to elucidate this double relevance wherever it is present.

As suggested earlier, Pindar's preferred method seems to be best exemplified in the odes to Aeginetan victors, namely, to see the victor's achievement as the validation of his inborn excellence, wherever possible with reference to his particular family heritage, but in any case with reference to the heroes of his homeland, who are presented metaphorically as bloodline ancestors. Yet in his many odes for Sicilians this procedure was normally precluded by the lack of local heroes and myths associated with the victor's homeland and family as well as by

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to one another, a far better formulation than Bundy's (above, n. 1) misleading "foils" (5f and *passim*).

[27] The social snobbery and naiveté which characterize the new religion of athletics toward the end of the eighth century is nicely brought out in the speeches of Laodamas and Euryalos (*Od.* 8.145–151, 159–164). C. G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization* (New York 1961) 309, associates the rise of the great games in the eighth and seventh centuries with a new self-consciousness of the aristocracy.

the lack of a tradition in the victor's family of participation in the games.[28]
Pindar's response to this challenge was to offer more general para-
deigmatic myths drawn from the great panhellenic storehouse, and,
where possible, attach them to the occasion of the ode by their associa-
tion with some aspect of the games.[29] At the same time Pindar does
not abandon his fundamental view of the victor's excellence as "in-
herited"; rather the concept of inherited excellence is itself broadened
in an atmosphere where its more literal associations were muted.

In *Nemean* 1 Pindar tells the myth of the birth of Heracles, the
instant response from Hera — devouring snakes, and the equally
swift triumph of Zeus's son, which in turn provokes a prophecy of his
whole career. The mythic narrative is among the most admired passages
in Pindar and at the same time has most frequently been pronounced
"irrelevant" to the non-mythic portion of the ode, and cited as evidence
for the view of Pindar as a "wayward" poet.

Indeed, those who express the greatest enthusiasm for the myth
are often the same as those who pronounce it irrelevant to the rest of
the poem. Croiset singles out the narrative as "admirable" and com-
pares it with epic narrative, than which it is "infiniment plus rapide."
He assures us that Pindar does not tell stories for their own sake, yet
gives no hint of the possible relevance of this ode.[30] Wilamowitz, not
one to pay lip-service to Pindar's competence, declares the narrative
reveals the nature of Heracles "so wahr und schoen, wie es nirgend
sonst zu hoeren ist," but on the same page assures us it has nothing to
do with Chromios: "Da gibt's freilich keine Verbindung, aber Pindar
sagt ja auch, dass ihn seine Neigung leitet."[31] Farnell takes a very
similar approach: "There is no doubt but that the narrative is one of

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[28] The partial exceptions to this generalization reveal how subtly Pindar
tries to adjust his preferred method to new circumstances. In O.3 and O.6
he deals with victors who trace their lineage back to mythical heroes of the
Greek mainland. In two odes he alludes to Typhoeus under Aetna as a local
mythic figure (O.4, 8–9, P.1.15–18), and three times he alludes to Persephone's
role as a "local" goddess for all of Sicily (O.6.95, P.12.2, N.1.14–15b). In
Is.2 he is dealing with a family in which there is more than one generation of
successes in the games, and lays heavy stress on the fact (e.g. 28–32, 44).
Cf. O.2.49.

[29] O.1 (Pelops associated with the place of the games and as a prototype of
the chariotracer), O.3 (Heracles as founder of the games), P.12 (Perseus as
occasioning the invention of the art in which the victor won, N.9 (Adrastos as
the founder of the games). See Finley (above, n. 5) 31.

[30] A. Croiset, *La Poésie de Pindare et les lois du lyrisme grecque* (Paris 1880)
431.

[31] Wilamowitz (above, n. 7) 256.

Pindar's masterpieces in the sphere of heroic lyric," he tells us; but when he comes to the question of relevance, we are warned: "We are dealing with a poet astonishingly wayward, whom a single phrase is often enough to send off the track, spinning down a long bypath of myth."[32] In the guise of defending the poetic unity of the ode, Rivier affirms the irrelevance of the myth to the victor in categorical terms, attempting to justify its presence by referring to religious edification in terms so vague as almost to drive one to Bundyism.[33] Finally, Norwood, citing Perotta, agrees with him: "He is to all seeming right when he denies both logical and aesthetic unity to Nemean I — the first part being mediocre, the second a fine triptych."[34] The unity of the ode has of course not lacked for defenders, but their grounds are sufficiently diverse that they are best dealt with in the course of my analysis.

Structurally the ode falls into two nearly equal parts, the mythic portion occupying the second — extraordinary for length, speed, directness, and the virtual absence of gnomic elements, except for the brief passage at 53-54. The praise of the victor, of his home, his generous hospitality for the poet, his qualities of character; allusions to the poet's character and encomiastic function; general maxims — all are confined to the first half of the ode. If there is a connection between the myth and the victor, it is of necessity an implicit connection.[35]

[32] Farnell (above, n. 7) I 160 and 162.

[33] A. Rivier, "Mythe et poésie; leur rapport et leur fonction dans trois épinicies de Pindare," *Lettres d'humanité* 9 (supplement to the *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé*) 69, 70-71, 75.

[34] G. Norwood, *Pindar* (Berkeley 1956) 77. He cites G. Perotta *Saffo e Pindaro* (Bari 1935) 126.

[35] The structure of *Nemean* 1 has long been considered exceptional. A Puech, *Pindare III: Neméennes* (Paris 1923) 21, contrasts it to "normal" structure: "La première Neméenne est un des poèmes qui ne se conforment pas au plan le plus normal de l'épinicie: un myth enclavé entre une introduction relative à la victoire, et une conclusion composée de préceptes moraux." Schadewaldt (above, n. 2) 267 also considers it exceptional, lumping it with O.4, N.10, and P.9. He cites A. B. Drachmann, *Moderne Pindarfortolkning* (Copenhagen 1891) 205ff, not available to me. Rivier (above, n. 33) 71 cites the lack of explicit applications of the myth to victor at the end of the ode as evidence of its irrelevance. S. Radt, "Pindars Erste Nemeische Ode" *Mnemosyne,* ser. 4, 19 (1966) 165, citing the other atypically structured odes, argues correctly that the juxtaposition of the two parts implies a parallel between the hero of the myth and the victor. L. Illig (above, n. 18) 20 states firmly that the *aretai* to which Pindar refers in his transition to the myth (v. 34) "koennen nur die des Chromios sein," but apart from seeing an echo of the same word "*aretai*" in line 9 he is content to leave the connection between the two parts of the ode implicit. cf. G. Thummer (above, n. 1) I 111.

It is a reasonable but unprovable hypothesis that Chromios, the victor, was a Dorian, and therefore a "Heraclid." But nothing in either the mythic or non-mythic portion of the ode suggests Pindar turned to Heracles primarily as a racial figure.[36] It is equally clear that Heracles is not introduced in his aspect as a founder of games.[37] The relevance of the myth must then be sought in the particular aspects of the Heracles material which the poet chooses to narrate in the ode and in his manner of narration. Since the myth in its general outlines and movement is wonderfully clear and direct it may be useful to examine that first, before attempting to elucidate its relation to the non-mythic portion.

The myth is divided rather sharply into three[38] major sections: the first (35–47) relates the birth of Heracles and his encounter with serpents sent by Hera; the second (48–59) describes the immediate effects of the encounter on Alcmena's maids, Alcmena herself, then upon Amphitryon, who rushes in with the Theban leaders; the third section (60–75) is in the form of a prophecy by Teiresias interpreting the prodigious feat. The prophecy itself falls into two sharply marked sections: Heracles' life of constant conflict (62–68) and his final bliss in an afterlife as the husband of Hebe and son-in-law of Zeus (69–72).

The dominant impression of the first section of the myth is of its swiftness. This impression depends on more than the flowing syntactical structure and the direct sequence of acts in time. It is explicitly driven home by the repetition of words denoting speed (αὐτίκα 35, ἄφαρ 40, ὠκείας 42), verbs of motion and verbs suggesting eager, swift action (φεύγων . . . μόλεν 36, ἐγκατέβα 38, πέμπε 40, ἔβαν . . . μεμαῶτες 42–3, ἄντεινε 43, μάρψαις 45). The significance of this emphasis is more than stylistic: it underlines with dazzling effectiveness the impression of the speed with which the child of Zeus (35) is put to the test and meets the challenge. Even the play on δισσαῖσι δοιούς (44)

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[36] Dissen (above, n. 7) 357 explored the possibility and wisely dropped it "quoniam maiores Chromii plane ignoramus." G. Fraccaroli, *Le odi di Pindaro* (Verona 1894) 523–524, citing Dissen's exploration of the possibility, argues strongly for identifying Chromios as a Heraclid. Bowra (above, n. 7) 306, though more cautious, seeks some special relevance of Heracles to Sicilians and even alludes to a shrine near the harbor in Syracuse. I do not exclude the idea that a racial element may enhance the effect, I only note Pindar has not emphasized this aspect in the text of this poem.

[37] The scholia, citing Chrysippos, show that even this straw has been grasped at (Drachmann III 20).

[38] So too Illig (above, n. 18) 20–25, though his divisions differ slightly from mine.

suggests a sort of fantastic heroic efficiency.[39] If the difficult χρόνος (46) of the manuscripts is correct,[40] we may well see in the bold phrase a telescoping of the force which is seen as the friend of the long-suffering son of Zeus. Certainly in the fourth section of the ode there is heavy emphasis on the idea that time is ultimately on the hero's side.

The stress on swiftness is responsible in large measure for the impression of optimism given by this potential grim picture of the difficulties almost lying in wait for the hero; for not only does he meet the challenge with equal swiftness, but his very birth is also seen as a swift and eager triumph over pain and darkness,[41] an emergence into radiant brilliance:

> ὥς, ἐπεὶ σπλάγχνων ὕπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαη-
> τὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διὸς
> ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ
> σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν

(35–36)

[39] T. Rosenmeyer, "The Rookie: A Reading of Pindar Nemean 1," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 2 (1969) 243, 244–245, cites the killing of *two* snakes as one of many "touches of humor" in the myth. As I hope will be abundantly clear from my analysis, I find Rosenmeyer's attempt to solve the problem of the relevance of the myth by positing a comic epyllion jejune to say the least. R. P. Winnington-Ingram has made the attractive suggestion to me that the play on the idea of two in this line may look back to διδύμῳ / σὺν κασιγνήτῳ (36). There are twin brothers and two snakes; the heroic brother alone saves the day by killing *both* snakes himself, one with each hand. In other treatments of the myth the contrast between the responses of the two brothers is sharply highlighted.

[40] Farnell pronounced χρόνος "a hopeless word"; and Bowra reads the prosaic suggestion βρόχος. Both Turyn and Snell keep χρόνος, rightly I believe. Certainly in consideration of Pindar's extraordinary fondness for χρόνος as the subject of verbs (ten examples are given in W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* [Berlin 1969]) and in view of his generally dynamic conception of time, the phrase is not too bold. On time in Pindar see Fraenkel (above, n. 2) *Wege* 10–12. See D. Gerber, "What Time Can Do (Pindar, *Nemean* 1.46–47)," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 30–33, for an excellent defense of the manuscript reading. The theme of time throughout the ode is well explored in an article by C. P. Segal, "Time and the Hero: The Myth of *Nemean* 1," forthcoming in *Rheinisches Museum*, of which he has kindly sent me a copy. I agree on the connection between χρόνος in 46 and the heavy emphasis on time in the final epode, particularly verse 69. But the earlier use of the word remains more difficult than either Segal or Gerber seems willing to acknowledge, if only for the reason — impressed upon me by Winnington-Ingram — that the poet puts such heavy emphasis on the *speed* and ease of the hero's activity in the immediately preceding lines.

[41] Cf. Illig (above, n. 18) 21 n. 4.

The next section (48–59) is not much less swift until the gnomic break at 53 (τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον πιέζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς· etc.). The style remains remarkably paratactic for Pindar, and here too there are words which clearly suggest speed (ἄπεπλος ὀρούσαισ' 50, ταχὺ . . . ἔδραμον 51). Yet the dominant impression is of the paralyzing emotional effect on the observers of the preceding scene. First the poet focuses on the terror of the serving women. Their δέος is personified, stressed by the epithet ἄτλατον, and is said to drive them out of their senses (ἐκ . . . πλάξε). Even the particle ἄρ'[42] contributes additional emotional energy to their amazement. True, their fixity is contrasted with the immediate and amazing action of the noble mother;[43] but the previous picture of the triumph of her son (46–47) is so complete that even her energetic motion appears after the fact. More clearly, the eager rush of the Cadmean chiefs and Amphitryon is arrested in the sustained focus on the latter's ambivalent reaction to what he sees: first sheer agony, a deeply personal fear for his family which sets him apart from his followers in a sort of chiastic parallel to the differentiation of Alcmena from her maids. But whereas the previous differentiation is achieved by purely narrative means, here it is underlined by a gnomic declaration (53–54) which seems rather awkward.[44] Amphitryon's agony then gives way to an emotion compounded of painful, almost religious, awe[45] and joy. Both are the result of Amphitryon's perception of the

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[42] J. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2d ed. (Oxford 1954) 34 cites this passage to illustrate "the primary use [sc. of ἄρα], expressing a lively feeling of interest."

[43] G. Méautis, *Pindare le dorien* (Neuchatel 1962) 178, well compares this passage to Homer's differentiation of the truly royal Nausicaa from her maids at the frightening appearance of Odysseus in *Odyssey* 6. 138f.

[44] Rosenmeyer (above, n. 39) 242 n. 35 does not "consider it farfetched to imagine Pindar using a particular *gnome* whose wording may be read as referring to Amphitryon's status as a cuckold." This bizarre attempt to find more humor where there is none ignores, among other things, Pindar's clear assumption that double parentage (divine and human) conveys honor not insult on the human father (cf. O.9.62). Radt (above, n. 35) 172–173 gives a full survey of previous discussions of the passage, then offers his own solution: since he sees evidence in 24f that Chromios is justly criticized for excessive hospitality to strangers (cf. ἀλλοδαπῶν 22), and for neglecting his local friends, Radt believes that Pindar is here giving tactful advice to the victor to pay more attention to his local allies (φίλοι = οἰκεῖοι) because, in the event of trouble, they will help him whereas his foreign friends will view it with indifference as something ἀλλότριον. This is ingenuity worthy of Dissen or Bury at their wildest.

[45] Méautis (above, n. 43) 177–178 discourses at length on θάμβος, which he well describes as "le frisson sacré, le mélange d'étonnement et d'effroi que nous cause la brusque intrusion du surnaturel dans nôtre existence."

implication of his son's act, which has revealed something transcending the norm (ἐκνόμιον 56), both his λῆμα and δύναμις. The meaning of δύναμις here is clear enough. The implication of λῆμα requires comment.[46] Its force in other Pindaric contexts and in the dramatists suggests an extraordinary temperament infused with daring; and daring is an inherently ambiguous quality in all Greek poets, even in Pindar, whose genre seems especially to favor it.[47] If the content of Amphitryon's perception were an unambiguous blessing, δυσφόρῳ (55) would lose much of its force. Rather both ἐκνόμιον and λῆμα suggest the heroic at its most impressive and frightening. This section of the myth is closed by setting Amphitryon's ambivalent response in the broader context of the god's reversal of his expectations when summoned by word of the attack on the child. The gods, who previously appear only as the father of the amazing child (Διός 35) and his bitterest enemy ("Ηραν ... θεῶν βασίλεα 38–39), are now (58–59) ascribed after-the-fact credit for the total reversal of Amphitryon's dire anticipation (51–58). In the scene of actual strife the infant hero had seemed totally alone.

The final section of the myth (60–72) stresses first the immediate, then, as it were, the absolute implication of the feat of Heracles; the prophecy of Teiresias sees first his whole human career (61–69) and secondly his state in eternity (69–72) as implicit in this first miraculous demonstration of his spirit of daring and his sheer power. The emphatic, nearly redundant description of Teiresias as "the outstanding straight-foreseeing prophet of highest Zeus" (60–61), coming as it does immediately after the vague reference to the ἀθάνατοι (59), corroborates the impression that we are meant to see the mysterious working of Zeus in the amazing career of the hero. The explicitly moral emphasis given his feats by ἀϊδροδίκας (63) seems to reinforce the impression given

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[46] Méautis (above, n. 43) 181 and Radt (above, n. 35) 167 both see an equivalence implied between λῆμα here and φρήν (27), thus underlining the parallel they perceive between the victor and the hero of the myth. Since δύναμιν (26) so easily suggests σθένος (57), the suggestion is attractive, but the gap in meaning between φρήν and λῆμα still should not be ignored.

[47] In P.3.25 λῆμα denotes the disastrous daring of Coronis. Her epithet (καλλιπέπλου) in that line may suggest ironically that her behavior ill befits her sex (cf. P.9.18f, where Pindar underlines more sympathetically the "unfeminine" character of another object of woman-hating Apollo's erotic interest). At P.8.45 it denotes the heroic temper which makes the Epigonoi worthy sons of their fathers. Finally in N.3.83, an ode particularly striking for its emphasis on inherited excellence, it denotes the quality that makes the victor a winner. Of the thirty-eight instances in the tragedians and Aristophanes a slight majority seem pejorative, but many contexts are ambivalent.

by ὕβριν (51). Seemingly unperturbed by the fact that Hera sent the first monsters,[48] Pindar presents all Heracles' adversaries here as almost by definition violators of justice. In this section his focus soon narrows from the vague monsters of land and sea, evoked in a sweepingly regular parallelism (62–63), to a single dramatic embodiment of evil, whose defeat is more explicitly associated with divine will (ὅταν θεοὶ . . . 67) and vividly evoked as a quenching of brilliance (φαιδίμαν 68). Thus imagistically Heracles' career on earth begins as a flight into brightness (ἐς αἴγλαν . . . φεύγων 35–36) and ends with destroying the brightness of the wicked.

The final epode, but for the initial word,[49] is given over entirely to describing the eternal bliss which Heracles wins for his life of toil. The passage is as remarkable for its redundant emphasis on rest as the opening was for speed. The stress on rest alone gives way to more concrete images of bliss: a warm, blooming partner for his bed who is the very embodiment of Youth, a marriage feast beside the supreme god, now both father and father-in-law. The final phrase sums up all the philosophic optimism implicit in the entire myth: the poet as well as the hero looks with magnificent inclusiveness over the whole heroic career from birth through seemingly endless and omnipresent trials to blissful attainment, and finds it all good.[50] The gods, however hostile at any given moment — and surely Hera is the very essence of

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[48] Norwood (above, n. 34) 56–57 cites the passage as proof of Pindar's intellectual fuzziness and moral obtuseness: "Gods as individuals perform without censure from him, actions which he condemns in men . . . In the First Nemean Hera seeks to destroy the baby Heracles, and comment there is none!"

[49] The ode as a whole displays an adroit variation between marked structural breaks corresponding with the strophic movement (8, 19, 26, 51, 55, 62), complete runovers (14–16, 36–37, 43–44), and single words or phrases which gain special emphasis from the runover: πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν closely tying the preceding thoughts to the myth, and ἔνεπεν, which underlines the end of the epic (the word is perhaps a conscious echo of the opening of the *Odyssey*) recitation of earthly deeds. *Pace* Bowra (above, n. 7) 319, the aesthetic effects achieved by breaking the metrical pattern presupposes a strong feeling for the natural containment of the thought within the strophic groupings. Bowra himself points out that the earliest ode, P.10, has a full stop at the end of each triad.

[50] Wilamowitz (above, n. 7) 256 translates νόμον "Weltordnung," and on the textual variants observes in a magisterial note: "Wer in dem letzten Worte νόμον verschmaeht . . . hat von dem Gedichte nichts verstanden." Certainly this interpretation is nearer Pindar's meaning than W. Slater's (above, n. 40) citation of this passage under "custom, tradition" instead of under "political tradition, regime," i.e. with P.2.86 and P.10.70.

hostility — in time manifest their concern for the mortal hero which is implicit in their blood-tie to him. The whole process emerges as something σεμνόν, "awe-inspiring" and "worthy of worship."

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Let us turn now to the first half of the poem and see to what extent this vision of life is implicit in the more formal details of Pindar's praise of the victor.

The opening word of the ode, ἄμπνευμα, means most broadly "rest after violent effort"[51] a common Pindaric way of viewing victory[52] and a dominant motif of this ode, which is most beautifully clear in the final epode. It is remarkable, too, that the same word (σεμνόν) appears in both the first and last lines of the ode, its relevance being far more obvious in the second case than in the first.

To translate θάλος in v. 2 as "leafed branch," or "green branch," or "flowering branch," may be picturesque, even visually evocative of the geography of Syracuse, but it fatally blurs the established Homeric and Pindaric sense of "offspring," "scion," *only* in the metaphorical sense which it has in English.[53] Thus following the notion of a holy rest after toil is that of a child of a glorious parent.

[51] Both ἀνάπνευμα (in the form ἀνάπνευσις) and the verb ἀναπνέω are primarily used in Homer and in later poets who consciously seek an epic tone. The primary meaning is a "breather" from battle, e.g. Il. 11.800-801, then relief from anything hard, e.g. κακότητος Il. 11.382, or πόνοιο 11.19.227. I stress this basic, broad sense of the word, its most obvious first impression, because so much subtlety has been exerted on the word from the scholia (Drachmann III 7-8) to the present that the relevance of the image both to Pindar's habitual view of victory and to the particular development of the motif in this ode may be lost.

[52] Perhaps τῶν μόχθων ἀμπνοάν O.8.7 is closest to this passage but cf. Is.8.1. In many other phrases the idea of reward or delight in return for effort, which I believe is also present in ἄμπνευμα, dominates; e.g. N.1.4, N.7.16, Is.3.7, O.7.15, P.2.13, Is.8.1, P.5.106.

[53] θάλος: "Bluette" Thummer 61, "leafed-branch," Lattimore; "flowering branch," Farnell, I, 155; "green branch," Bowra, 266. He remarks, 267, following Dissen, "Ortygia is a θάλος of Syracuse because she is one of its five districts, and the word suggests that the great city is a tree of which Ortygia is a branch, sharing its fame." But LSJ s.v.: "prop. = θαλλός, but only nom. and accus. in metaph. sense of *scion, child.*" Pindar uses it elsewhere of Heracles: σεμνὸν θάλος Ἀλκαϊδᾶν (O.6.68), and in Θέρσανδρος—Ἀριστιδᾶν θάλος (O.2.45). Is. 7.24 is difficult, as Farnell's long note suggests: "κοινὸν θάλος, 'a share in his wreath of fame.' Wilamowitz, p. 411, n. 1, comments on this use of θάλος as unique; elsewhere it only = 'scion' of the human family: the word used for 'shoot' or 'bough' is θαλλός, very frequently in association with στέφανος. If θάλος was a variant for θαλλός, it is strange that the metaphorical use of a word

δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος might most safely be taken as simply repeating
and enforcing the notion of rest after toil. But at least two other sug-
gestions seem to have enough bearing on the rest of the ode to be worth
considering. Artemis is a difficult figure in Greek religion.[54] To Homer
she is clearly a virgin goddess, and the most powerful of her appear-
ances in Greek literature, the *Hippolytus*, fixes that character indelibly
in our minds. But she was also a goddess associated with birth, occasion-
ally called Locheia or even identified with Eilythuia,[55] and in some
areas distinctly orgiastic rites were associated with her worship. One
of the many confusions arising from this decomposition in her roles
was the development of myths of her pursuit. In order to preserve the
notion of her virginity, most of these myths transfer the ardors of her
pursuer to one of the nymphs accompanying her. So in the case of
Alpheus there are two versions, one that he pursued the goddess
herself, another that he pursued her follower Arethusa. At Ortygia
both seemed to be maintained simultaneously, since on the one hand,
the fountain where pursued and pursuer emerged was called Arethusa,
while near the spot, Artemis was worshipped as Ἀλφείωα. Farnell
assumes that in N.1 Pindar is alluding to the more chaste version, but,
as he noted, only Alpheus and Artemis are mentioned. Thus it may not
be too far-fetched to see in δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος a hint of a γάμος, the
recompense which crowns Alpheus' hard-won peace, as the wedding
with Hebe crowns that of Heracles. Thus the opening word ἄμπνευμα
has a secondary suggestion of a more sexual relief.[56]

An entirely different view of δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος, also rejected by
Farnell, is that attributed by the scholia to Aristarchus namely that

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should be expressed by such a difference of form. This passage suggests that
this distinction between the two forms was not rigidly observed." W. Slater
(above, n. 40) also cites Δ.I.13 = fr. 70a.13 (Snell), but the context is difficult.

[54] As Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896) II, 425, remarks:
"Perhaps no other figure in the Greek Pantheon is so difficult to understand and
explain, not because the conceptions that grew up in her worship are mystic
and profound, but because they are, or at first sight appear, confusing and
contradictory." See also W. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston 1950)
99–106, who agrees in the main with Farnell's account except on the question
of geographic origin of the cult. My remarks on Artemis derive both from
Farnell, *Cults* II, 425–86, and Guthrie.

[55] On this point, see in addition to the sources cited in the preceding note
M. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (New York, 1952) 2nd ed. 30.

[56] This suggestion also seems hinted at in the scholia (Drachmann III 7):
τὸ δὲ ἀνάπαυμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς σπουδῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τάττει. But they also pre-
serve an interpretation of σεμνόν as indicating the failure of Alphaeus' efforts (8).

δέμνιον alludes to the "birth-bed" of Artemis, who was born in Ortygia. Irigoin warns us of Aristarchus' fallibility, especially in the sphere of myth.[57] But Farnell offers no comment on the following Δάλου κασιγνήτα (4) which, whatever its precise meaning, clearly contains an allusion to the scene of the twin-birth.[58]

The opening invocation to the victor's home, Ortygia, may then be said to contain at least hints of rest after toil, a child ("scion") of glorious parentage, a divine γάμος, and a twin birth of gods — all motifs which are developed in the myth. The first declarative statement of the poem (5–6) seems by a vague ambivalence to link the occasion of the song to two places: the poem starts out from Ortygia but it is "in honor of Zeus Aetnaios." The reference to "Aetnaios" is pretty clearly to Hieron's pet project, the founding of Aetna in 476, the probable year of the composition of this ode.[59] This somewhat forced allusion not only suggests a desire to please his patron's patron, but its form strongly hints that the new city is under Zeus' special protection. Fraccaroli doubtless went too far in arguing that the myth of the fair-omened birth of Heracles aims *primarily* at suggesting that the new city has equal promise.[60] Still, a hint of Zeus' involvement with the new city does seem reinforced by the demonstration of the prowess of Zeus' son (35), the predictions of future triumphs by Zeus' prophet (60), and final bliss with Zeus' daughter in Zeus' realm (71–72). The phrase ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν clearly refers back to this mention of Zeus. The architectural metaphor and force of ἀρχαί have been rightly

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[57] J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris, 1952), 54–55.

[58] The birthplace of Artemis and her relation to Apollo are just two more confusing aspects of her worship. See Farnell, *Cults* II 464f. The Homeric Hymn says nothing of Rheneia, it simply implies that Ortygia is some place different from Delos:

χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
Ἀπολλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ

(14–16)

This last line, for all the logical difficulties involved in transferring an Aegean site to a Sicilian one (see scholia and Farnell [above, n. 7] II *ad loc.*), seems to have been in Pindar's mind when he called Ortygia Δάλου κασιγνήτα.

[59] In O.6.96 a later ode for another henchman of Hieron's the point of Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου is too obvious to be disputed. But Puech (above, n. 35) 18 vigorously denies the association with Hieron's city which the scholia (Drachman III 12) attribute to Didymus. Most scholars now accept Wilamowitz' (above, n. 7) 253 arguments in favor of the date 476. See also R. Burton *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962) 79.

[60] Fraccaroli (above, n. 36) 521ff.

recognized as primarily directed to song.[61] But if one admits a hint of divinely favored founding of a city in Ζηνὸς Ἀἰτναίου χάριν (6), is it really far-fetched to feel that such a hint would be reinforced in the minds of the audience by a phrase meaning "Beginnings consisting of gods are now laid down"? The association of that beginning with the god-given excellences of Chromios, Hieron's ἐπίτροπος for the new city, would only further strengthen the allusion.[62]

The collocation ἀρχαὶ . . . θεῶν with δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς also recalls several passages which emphatically equate inherited qualities with god-given ones.[63] In N.1.8–9 the implication of a divine origin combined with (σύν 9) and, one would almost say, manifested in divine excellence anticipates not only the explicit praise of inborn qualities (25–28), but also the myth. For the aspect of the myth which has disturbed so many commentators, namely, that it deals with the birth and first exploits of Zeus' son, is prefigured by this emphatic dictum early in the poem: "Origins consisting of gods are laid as foundations together with the divine excellences of that man," which might well stand as an epigraph to the myth told in this ode.

The three declarative sentences which begin this antistrophe (8–12) thus operate in terms of a familiar pattern of ideas: first, the necessity of divine, inherited excellence; second, of good fortune in order that the inherent qualities achieve renown; and, finally, of poetic celebration to preserve that renown. But how different is the tone of these lines from some of those where these motives occur. Instead of the often grim play of χρόνος, πότμος, or μοῖρα in O.2, for example, which casts a pall over the victor's triumph, the placing of the thought in N.1 soon after the declaration of his triumph, and immediately after the praise of his qualities, conveys the sense of achievement rather than stresses the play of fortune. So too in the myth; although the active hostility of fortune is implicit, the whole emphasis is on brilliant, startling success. In N. 7, to take another familiar example, the preserving power of poetry is almost immediately set starkly against the obliteration of death (N.7.11–20). But in N.1 the cheerfulness implicit in φιλεῖ (12) is maintained, and the poet turns from declaration to

[61] See Bury (above, n. 7) *ad loc.*

[62] So Finley (above, n. 5) 125: "The foundation is both that of the poem seen architecturally and of the mighty cities and warlike peoples of Sicily, which are the subject of the first triad." A. T. Cole has pointed out to me a somewhat similar combination of ideas in P.1.32–40, i.e. a victory and its verbal celebration implying a fair augury for the new city closely associated with the victor.

[63] E.g. O.9.28–29, 100–104, 110–111; P.10.10–12 cf. Bundy (above, n. 1) 16.

enthusiastic injunction (σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσῳ 13). Here, unlike for example O.1, O.2, O.9, N.5, or N.7, the poet's expression of his confidence is unalloyed by the disturbing sense either of poetry's own potential deceptiveness or of the potential blindness and hostility of his audience.

The praise of Sicily (13–18) is by no means outside the sphere of ideas and images of the rest of the poem. When present success enjoins the poet to offer a brilliant compliment to the island, he thinks first of the divine "foundation" of its prosperity in the will of supreme Zeus. Thus the present success is seen as the realization of potentialities present at the outset and already manifested by others. The finite verbs focus on Zeus' initial act (ἔδωκε 14), its validation with the traditional majestic gesture (κατένευσεν 14),[64] and his first concrete service to the island (ὤπασε 16). But the real content of the praise appears in a glorious future perspective (ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονὸς / Σικελίαν πίειραν ὀρθώσειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνεαῖς (14–15).

The praise of the god-given people of Sicily is more than a full-blown variant on the familiar combination of war and games. The imagery is progressive: from πολέμου μναστῆρα (16) to Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσέοις / μειχθέντα (17–18). As the climax to their "wooing" of war they are "wedded"[65] with golden leaves of Olympian olive. Many have noticed that Pindar's use of "golden"[66] to describe leaves which are manifestly grey-green in color reveals their "spiritual" rather than physical color, a sense of brilliant transcendence in victory. Thus, just as in a general way the supreme recompense of Heracles in marrying Hebe reflects the bliss of Chromios' victory, the language

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[64] Cf. *Iliad* 1.528–30, a reminiscence noted by Bury and also by Gildersleeve. See H. Houghton "Gildersleeve on the First Nemean," *CJ* 50 (1954) 217.

[65] If the erotic metaphor is present in μειχθέντα, one must acknowledge that it has been systematically avoided by the vast majority of translations I have seen — i.e. Dissen, Fraccaroli, Myers, Turner, Bury, Dornseiff, Puech, Farnell, Lattimore, Radt. The idea at least has been available a long time. C. Fennell, *Pindar, the Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge 1883), who offers the "literal" translation "brought into contact with," comments "Mr. Fanshawe suggests that the lemma, coming so close to μναστῆρα, 'wooer,' may mean here 'wedded,' so Holmes." Houghton (above, n. 64) reports Gildersleeve's comment on μειχθέντα thus: "The carnal side of Pindar is often apparent." Burton (above, n. 59) has a useful discussion of Pindar's use of μναστήρ. A. T. Cole has suggested to me the attractive idea that the leaves with which the victorious people are "wedded" may involve a telescoped allusion to the *phyllobolia* which accompanies a wedding; cf. P.9.123–124. Euripides' *Hecuba* 574 seems a bitter allusion to the same custom.

[66] See Finley (above, n. 5) 53 and Bowra (above, n. 7) 246.

in this passage prepares the way for the association of victory in a contest with divine marriage. Certainly it is clear from other odes that Pindar is very fond of a metaphoric association of athletic victory with sexual union or marriage.[67] Here the metaphor repeats the image of Alpheus' wooing and final union with Artemis.

On a different level the language of 13–17 may well contain further allusions to the founding of Aetna. A hint of the new city[68] has been suspected in κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνειαῖς and a compliment to Hieron[69] is generally seen in the allusion to Olympian victories in this Nemean ode. If so, the repetition of both the noun and the grammatical pattern in κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις (34), in introducing the figure of Heracles, may not be casual.[70] Similarly, the parallel between the new city and the son of Zeus may be further enforced by the parallel of Zeus' promise

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[67] O.1.22: κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν, which is reinforced in the myth by κράτει δὲ πέλασον (78) and ἕλεν ... σύνευνον (88); O.7, the whole opening simile of the bridegroom, which is reinforced by the repeated focus on marriage in the myth (see Young, above, n. 1, *Three Odes* 68–105); P.9.72 εὐθαλεῖ συνέμειξε τύχᾳ reinforced in the myth by θαλάμῳ δὲ μίγεν (68), Ζηνὶ μιγεῖσα (84), γάμον (112, 114) — the motif is so prevalent in the ode, Boeckh even argued it was an epithalamion (see Young *Myth* 42 n. 137); N.4.21 Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυον reinforced in the myth by ἔγαμεν (65); N.5.42 Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων reinforced in the myth by πράξειν ἄκοιτιν (36); Is. 2.26 χρυσέας ἐν γούνασιν πίτνοντα Νίκας and 29 παῖδες ἐν τιμαῖς ἔμειχθεν. I do not mean to imply that μείγνυμι must always be seen as a sexual metaphor, but the sexual sense of the word is very common in Pindar, and we are justified in seeing the metaphor when its context implies through the myth a parallel between the victor's success and the sexual unions of the figures in the myth. See T. Hoey, "Fusion in Pindar," *HSCP* 70 (1965) especially 237–242.

[68] Fraccaroli (above, n. 36) 521.

[69] E.g. Fennell (above, n. 65) *ad loc.* Wilamowitz (above, n. 7) 254. Bury (above, n. 7) implausibly builds his whole theory of the ode on the assumption that Chromios is obsessed with gaining an Olympic victory. Rosenmeyer (see above, n. 39) though he does not cite this allusion to Olympic victories, seems to operate on the same assumption as Bury in adopting Didymus' (Drachmann III 20–21) explanation of the myth as purely aimed at encouraging a "rookie" sportsman to throw himself into a long career of contests. *Contra*, see the suggestion of Méautis (above, n. 43) 170–171, based on the relative low prestige of Hagesias' mule victory and Chromios' Nemean and Sicyonian triumphs, that Hieron's "Goebbels" and "Himmler" would never have been permitted to rival the "Fuehrer's" glories in the most prestigious Olympian contests. In any case the parallel of explicit compliments to Hieron in the ode for Hagesias, (O.6.93–97) makes such an allusion highly probable here.

[70] Radt (above, n. 35) 168 and n. 2 notes the parallel, cites eleven authorities, and insists on the exclusive relevance of the myth of Heracles to the figure of Chromios.

to "raise up straight" (ὀρθώσειν 15) Sicily with the heights of rich cities" to the dramatic gesture of the new-born Heracles: ὁ δ' ὀρθὸν μὲν ἄντεινε κάρα (43). Though we cannot remind ourselves too often that parallels in Pindar between mortals and gods are never complete, the image of Zeus giving over a realm to a lesser goddess, personally guaranteeing its prosperity, and himself supplying the citizenry, might well strike the contemporary audience as parallel to Hieron putting his new city under Chromios' command, guaranteeing its survival if not prosperity with his enormous military power, and most remarkable of all, supplying the population himself with mercenaries.[71] Moreover, many commentators have rightly seen a tacit parallel between the final image of Heracles beside his father-in-law Zeus and Chromios' subordination to his older brother-in-law Hieron.[72]

If the preceding web of allusions bears a valid relation to Pindar's actual intentions, then his summary boast at the end of the first triad is surely justified — at least with respect to quantity: "I have touched upon the essence[73] of many things without having struck them with falsehood" (18). He has touched upon the motif of rest after toil once (1) and perhaps twice (3), of offspring from glorious parentage (2), of divine twin birth (4), of the founding of Aetna under the protection of Zeus (4, 14ff), of divine origins associated with divine excellences and their relations to fortune and to song (10–12), the divine origins of Sicily and perhaps of Aetna (14–17), of divine marriage as the crowning return of all pursuit (1–3, 17). In this web of allusions we have noted not a simple correspondence between the mythic figure of Heracles and the victor or between Heracles and the victor's homeland; rather there

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[71] See A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London 1956) 133; Bowra (above n. 7) 127–128. G. Grote, *A History of Greece* (London 1869) V 83–84 vividly suggests the vanity and brutality as well as the practical political considerations behind the founding of Aetna. Cf. also Méautis (above, n. 43) 106–108 who sets Hieron's politics in the contexts of Gelon's horror of democracy.

[72] The suggestion occurs first in the scholia (Drachmann III 19). Cf. also Puech (above, n. 35) 22, Fraccaroli (above, n. 36), Méautis (above, n. 43) 182, Radt (above, n. 35) 167, who also note the implicit parallel between Hieron and Zeus in P. 2.

[73] The interpretation by Norwood (see above, n. 34) 265 n. 20 of this sentence involves a misleading view of the meaning of καιρός for this particular context: "Pindar's way is to seize on the critical moment, the climax in a legend; cf. N.1.18f." Here καιρός, it seems to me, comes much nearer to something like "the relevant essence," i.e. just correspondences in the past, present, and future of the victor and his heritage, whether familial or communal. See M. Lefkowitz, "ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ: The First Person in Pindar," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 206–209, and Hoey (above, n. 67) 243–244. See also Burton (above, n. 59) 46.

is a subtle fluctuation between images which at one moment suggest
Chromios, at another Aetna or Sicily.

This boast by the poet at the end of the triad acts as a transition
from praise of the victor in terms of his homeland to praise in terms of
the victor's relationship to the poet, to the aristocracy and to non-
aristocrats. The poet's reference to the scene of the ode (19–24), the
charming if traditional focus on the ἁρμόδιον δεῖπνον (21–22), and the
hospitable δόμοι (23) suggest that not even here is his myth completely
absent from his mind; or rather in this case his earlier words seem to be
still in his ears when he includes the not inevitable details ὀλβίοις ἐν
δώμασι (71) and δαίσαντα (72) in describing the scene of Heracles'
triumphal celebration. Perhaps even ἀινήσειν (72) is a reminiscence of
καλὰ μελπόμενος (20). The parallel of ἔσταν (19) and ἔστα (55),
both the initial word in their respective strophes suggests perhaps a
partial parallel between the poet's admiration for the victor's triumph
and Amphitryon's amazement at Heracles' feat.[74] Yet the disparity in
tone is so great one must stress the incompleteness of the parallel.[75]
Moreover, the general parallel between the victory banquet and the
hero's wedding banquet seems uppermost in the poet's mind.

The delightful sense of hospitality and song, which forms a pendant
to the praise of military and athletic prowess in 16ff, is no sooner
established than broken by the intrusion of envy[76] and strife. Granting

[74] Fraccaroli (above, n. 36) 527 attributes this parallel which he approves to
F. Mezger, *Pindar's Siegeslieder* (Leipzig 1880) 110, which became available
to me only when this article was essentially complete. Finley (above, n. 5)
125, if not pressed too far, seems to me more to the point: "The arrangement
of the figures at the banquet corresponds to that of the coming myth." Certainly
Rosenmeyer's (see above, n. 39) 241–242 use of the parallel is excessive.

[75] As Young (above, n. 1) *Myth* 43 observes: "The exaggeration apparent in a
comparison . . . is no more a cause to censure it than to deny it . . . if we
recognize the fact that similarity in kind is more important to Pindar than
disparity of degree . . . we can better understand why Pindar and the aristo-
cratic society for which he often composed so esteemed the games and the
epinician."

[76] The idea that success is automatically subject to envy is of course a tradi-
tional Greek view which Pindar, a high priest of success, alludes to almost
compulsively (cf. O.1.47, O.6.74–6, O.11.7, P.1.85, P.7.15, N.3.9, N.4.39,
N.8.22, Is.1.44, Is.2.43, fr. 94a.8 Snell). Rosenmeyer (above, n. 39) 236 is certainly
correct in rejecting the views of Radt (above, n. 35) 162f derived from Wilamo-
witz that Pindar has specific critics and criticism of an allegedly greedy Chro-
mios in mind. At the same time there is a danger that in pointing out that an
idea is "traditional" we drain it of all immediacy and think no more about it.
But it is precisely in his harping on such clichés that Pindar reveals the self-
consciousness of his role as defender of the powerful; on the one hand, all

that 24–25 (λέλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις ἐσλοὺς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φέρειν / ἀντίον) cannot be explained to everyone's satisfaction, I accept Radt's reasons for taking it thus: "It falls to the lot of critics that noble men bring water against their smoke."[77] I prefer to see the ensuing juxtaposition of differing τέχναι and φυᾷ (25) as inclusive, suggesting most immediately both the native skills of the poet and the victor.[78] Certainly the following survey of spheres of inborn excellence — action, planning, foresight — are all areas where the notion of skill is not incompatible with inborn ability. In any case, the breadth of reference is not merely a foil to the specific address to the victor, but sets forth emphatically and explicitly the abstract affirmation of the validity of inherited qualities which is illustrated in the myth.

This whole section of the ode seesaws delicately between enforcing an essential parity between the poet and the victor, who are in the relationship of ξενία and are both ἐσλοὶ . . . φυᾷ, and suggesting

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criticism is mere envy from mediocrities; on the other, the traditional χρέος motif (see Schadewaldt, above, n. 2, 277–281) implies a moral obligation to celebrate all success. For a provocative discussion of the envy-motif in terms of the psychological dynamics of a slave-owning society see A. Gouldner, *The Hellenic World* (New York 1965) = Part I of *Enter Plato*, 24–38.

[77] Radt (above, n. 35) devotes some seven pages (154–160) of his twenty-five pages to an exhaustive and exhausting review of all the solutions offered to this passage which Farnell pronounced "perhaps the most serious conundrum that Pindar has left us." It is hard not to feel that too much effort has been expended on a nuance which does not enormously affect the meaning of the ode. The words either imply that criticism of the "good" is inherently futile or ultimately futile because the "good" always have other "good" men whose praise invalidates the blame. At the same time, Farnell's attempt to justify Aristarchus' interpretation (Drachmann III 16) by positing an unheard of and ambiguous proverb about water making more smoke (instead of extinguishing its source) strikes me as preposterous, though Rosenmeyer (above, n. 39) has recently attempted to revive it. The only qualification I would offer to Radt's analysis is that I believe Pindar is very fond of syntactical ambiguities, so that I find no difficulty in the view that ἐσλούς does double duty as both the direct object of μεμφομένοις and the subject of φέρειν.

[78] Bury (above, n. 7) argues strenuously for an exclusive opposition between τέχναι, the deceitful machinations of critics, and φυά, the straightforward (cf. εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα 25) inborn excellence of the "good" which will defeat them. So, too, O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (Hermes Einzelschriften, Heft 4, Berlin 1937) 62f. Radt (above, n. 36) rightly points out that τέχνα in Pindar is more often nonpejorative (he cites P.2.32 as the exception; actually it is also pejorative at N.4.58 and Is.4.37). Since it is used of gods five times and once is combined with σύγγονοι (P.8.60) it is obviously not antithetical to φυά. The point, as Radt argues, is that the "good" should not use the *same* τέχναι as their critics, but rather those τέχναι which are theirs φυᾷ.

differences in their activities which prepare for tacit partial parallelism with the figures of Heracles and Teiresias in the myth.

The parallelism of poet and victor is anticipated metaphorically in the opening lines of the poem by the mutual impulse of the ὕμνος which "starts off" (ὁρμᾶται) the poet to praise horses, and on the other hand, of the victor's chariot which speeds the poet on his way to "yoke" (ζεῦξαι) a song of praise (5–7). At 25f the generalizing cast of the poet's language implies that both are ἐσλοί subject to criticism, presumably from non-ἐσλοί, and both struggle against their detractors by the exercise of skills which are theirs by virtue of birth (φυᾷ). Depending upon the sphere of activity, the skills required for the success of every ἐσλός are comprehensively surveyed: strength (σθένος) and intelligence (φρήν), both of which require foresight (ἐσσόμενον προϊδεῖν) in their successful use; and again in less than four lines the poet insists these qualities are acquired by birth (συγγενές). It should be recognized that in the first instance these are standard attributes of members of the ruling class from Homer to Thucydides.[79] The subsequent explicit differentiation of victor and poet (Ἀγησιδάμου παῖ, σέο ... 29, οὐκ ἔραμαι ... 31)[80] really sustains the parallelism of the preceding lines because the qualities attributed to each individual — wide-ranging usefulness derived from high character (29–30), lack of greed, concern for comfort and reputation, and a commitment to aid friends (31–32) — apply to both. This essential harmony of character traits is reaffirmed in the final sentence before the introduction of the myth: "for shared (κοιναί) are the expectations of men subject to many troubles" (32–33), where the word -πόνος has both its familiar narrow allusion to the efforts of athletes and its broader sense of anything difficult and unpleasant. In this sense the myth of the son of Zeus, subject to instant

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[79] Fennell (above, n. 65) 3 rightly observes "V.27 ... ascribes to Chromios the faculty which Thucydides notes as characteristic of Themistokles (1.138) οἰκείᾳ γὰρ συνέσει, οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν ... (ἦν) τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής." He might as well have cited Achilles' complaint to heralds about Agamemnon:

> οὐδέ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
> ὅππως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχέοιντο Ἀχαιοί.
> (*Iliad* 1.343–4). Méautis (above, n. 43)

172 also cites Thucydides.

[80] Radt (above, n. 35) 160–162, following Wilamowitz, grossly distorts this traditional use of the first person into an elaborately subtle sermon on the excessive miserliness of his host. See Young (above, n. 1) *Three Odes* 28, n. 5, which gives a detailed history of critical discussions of this device, especially recommending Fraenkel *Dichtung* 543 n. 12.

and continued hostility, functions as very general pattern for the career of anyone ἐσλὸς φυᾷ.

But if this parallelism of poet and victor as themselves general exemplars of inborn excellences and of the predicament of the ἐσλοὶ φυᾷ is sustained by the consistently general cast of the language, it is nonetheless true that various ideas and phrases in this section seem to point toward more specific differentiations of victor and poet, and more specific parallels in the mythic portion. Thus the poet, though elsewhere he presents his own persona as the exemplar of inborn excellence subject to the criticism of his inferiors, here in the image of carrying water against smoke seems to point to his function as a ξεῖνος who praises "holding off darkening blame, bringing true glory like streams of water to a friend" (N.7.61–62).[81] Similarly, though ἐσσόμενον προϊεῖν looks generally to the foresight required of any leader, in the context of the myth it seems also to hint at the role of Διὸς ὑψίστου προφάταν ἔξοχον, / ὀρθόμαντιν Τειρεσίαν (60–61) and a parallel to the poet[82] who elsewhere proclaims himself ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν (Paean 6.6ff; cf. N.9.50). In the myth it certainly is true that the hero is all alone with his enemies, and in this sense neither seer nor poet is presented as directly helping the man of inborn excellence against his enemies. But both, by revealing the full implications of what he has already achieved, offer reassurance of his continued success and ultimate supreme happiness. Thus the poet's insistence on his truthfulness (18) seems echoed in the epithet of Teiresias as ὀρθόμαντιν (61). If ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις ... μελπόμενος implies at least a semipublic celebration of the victor's virtues in front of the victor's house, there may be a further echo in the action of Teiresias: ὁ δέ οἱ φράζε καὶ παντὶ στρατῷ (61).

Turning to the victor, I consider the correspondence, insisted upon by Radt,[83] between the enemies against whom Heracles fights and the victor's critics, of a very vague and general nature. But the phrase

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[81] Fennell (above, n. 65) 9 cites this parallel, attributing it to Donaldson. Radt (above, n. 35) 158 implicitly rejects it on the grounds that "Wasser = Preislied ist Wasser als das erquickende, lebenspendende Element gesehen, nichts als Loeschmittel!"), but this ignores the force of σκοτεινόν (N.7.61).

[82] Fennell's citation of Thucydides (see above, n. 79) was, in fact, to contradict Mueller's excessively literal association of the phrase with prophecy as implying Pindar had actually predicted Chromios' victory! But the parallel has been perceived at least since Didymos (Drachmann III 21) and if not pressed too far, is valid.

[83] Radt (above, n. 35) especially 169–173.

μάρνασθαι φυᾷ (25), especially after the explicit praise of the martial
qualities of Sicilians in general (16–17), does seem to point in particular
to the victor's distinguished military career and thus to anticipate
the specifically martial feats of Heracles. So too with σθένος, which
has often and I believe rightly been seen as an anticipation of the
δύναμιν (57) of the hero. As noted earlier, I find the attempt[84] to equate
the φρήν of the victor with the λῆμα of the infant Heracles less satis-
factory. I prefer to see φρήν as a purely common term between the
poet and the victor. It is rather in the poet's emphasis on the excellence
of the victor's inherited character and in particular in the correspon-
dence of the phrases ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα (25) to τινα σὺν
πλαγίῳ / ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον (64–65) that the poet
implies a parallelism between the victor's struggles and those of the
hero. Commentators have frequently seen in this Heracles myth the
type of the helper[85] paralleling Chromios viewed as the helper of
Hieron and all his friends, Pindar included; but this "help" is in this
ode only an implication of Heracles freeing the world from monsters.
Pindar's language, even when describing Heracles as an ally, stresses
not aid, but obliteration of the wicked (κτανών, / ὅσσους ... ἀϊδροδίκας,
... τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ... κόρῳ στείχοντα ... δώσειν μόρῳ,[86] 62–66).
By emphasizing δίκη in N.1 Pindar chooses to present Heracles'
exercise of his tremendous powers in emphatically moral terms.
Dramatically this emphasis has the effect of answering the implicit
doubt of Amphitryon about the ἐκνόμιον λῆμα of his son. The specific
historical applications to Chromios need not detain us.[87] It may well
be that for the original Sicilian audience Chromios' services in imposing
and preserving the "order" of Hieron were enhanced by a partial
implicit parallel to Heracles' role in cleaning up the world controlled

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[84] See n. 46 above.

[85] E.g. Puech (above, n. 35) 20; Norwood (above, n. 34) 223 n. 12 and 230 n. 89.
G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford 1972) 36, seems to incline to
this view but does lay correct emphasis on φυά (curiously printed in its *Ionic*
form φυή!) and on Heracles as a figure of justice.

[86] Verses 64–66 contain one of those cruces where all suggested emendations
seem to give nearly the same sense, I cite Bowra's text which departs least
from the manuscript, simply changing μόρον to μόρῳ. Turyn's τινι ... στεί-
χοντι ... μόρον may be slightly better. See Wilamowitz (above, n. 7) 496.
Snell accepts Theiler's emendation: φᾶ ἑ δᾳώσειν μόρον, which does avoid
the troublesome φᾶσε, but seems to me at least too far removed from the
manuscripts.

[87] For attempts to find specific parallels see Radt (above, n. 35) especially
165f.

by Zeus.[88] But for a panhellenic audience the more significant fact is that Pindar presents the moral excellence of the victor as a consequence of his birth, then expands upon that association of morality and high birth in the myth.

To sum up, then, many correspondences both broad and subtle tie together the two portions of the ode, suggesting a unified vision behind both praise of the victor and the myth. The myth's primary function is not to illustrate the particular virtues of Chromios but the nature of life for a man of innate excellences. As such its tone is sublimely optimistic though its content implies terrible danger and constant strife. The man with the proper, divine origins, regardless of the πόνοι or the ἐχθροί he may encounter, is from the outset more than a match for them. The more general or philosophic cast of this view of *phya*, perhaps a consequence of the poet's removal from familiar settings, is manifested in the full perspective the myth offers of the entire career from the moment of birth through toils on land and sea to the final apotheosis. The marvelous feat at birth, by calling forth the prophecy of the whole remainder of the career, is more than narrative economy: it implies that what is well begun will continue well, a general principle which was hinted at as applicable to founding Aetna, the function of Pindar's poem, the life of Chromios, and the history of all Sicily.

The richness and apparent ease with which Pindar achieves so perfect a fusion of the circumstances of the individual victor with the panhellenic mythic vision of the aristocratic principle at the core of reality is truly a fundamental component of his greatness as a poet. To appreciate that greatness we need neither to reduce his achievement to a mastery of mechanical encomiastic conventions nor to embrace his paideutic vision as if it were our own. Rather, by understanding the harmony he achieves between a vision of reality relevant to a particular class in a particular time and place and a set of artistic conventions of even more limited relevance, we are at least in a position to explore the bases of his appeal to us.

University of Texas

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[88] I owe this suggestion to A. T. Cole, who points in particular to the idealization of Hieron's order in P.1.

ARISTOPHANES' *RANAE* 862: A NOTE ON THE ANATOMY OF EURIPIDEAN TRAGEDY[1]

Gregory W. Dickerson

THE short iambic scene (*Ra.* 830–894) which serves as a prelude to the familiar epirrhematic agon between Aeschylus and Euripides begins with a vituperative exchange between the two rival poets. Euripides initiates the name-calling almost immediately upon entering (836ff) and soon succeeds in eliciting a response in kind from his hitherto speechlessly indignant antagonist: "Is that *so*, o scion of Our Lady of the Cabbage Patch?" (840). As Aeschylus perseveres with his counterattack (841–843; 845f; 849f), his rage continues to swell until Dionysus, after twice failing with cautionary interjections (843f; 847f), at last silences the poet with a curt imperative: "Hold it, you!" (851). The god's intensifying alarm at the mounting violence of Aeschylus' mood throughout this passage is manifest in the escalating vigor of the language with which he responds to the poet's outbursts. What he at first views as no more than simmering anger ($\mu\grave{\eta}$ ... $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\eta s$ $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\dot{\omega}$ 844), he shortly thereafter describes as a threatening "tempest" ($\tau\upsilon\phi\grave{\omega}s$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$ 848), a metaphor which, after at last squelching

Aeschylus' tirade, he briefly extends in his opening words of warning
to Euripides: "Get in out of the hailstorm!" (ἀπὸ τῶν χαλαζῶν 852).
But even the image of the hailstorm proves inadequate to express the
danger which Dionysus sees threatening his favorite. And so, abruptly,
the metaphor of nature's indiscriminate violence is forsaken in favor
of the still more formidable picture of a purposefully lethal attack to
be launched by Aeschylus upon Euripides' person. The latter is to
make himself scarce so that Aeschylus "may not, in a rage, clout you
on the temple with a heady phrase and bash out your brainy master-
piece, the *Telephus*."[2] The god then concludes his speech by turning
again to Aeschylus with a few final words of injunction and reproof.
He is to cross-examine and suffer cross-examination (ἔλεγχ', ἐλέγχου
857) calmly; there is to be no more of this unseemly roaring and
vituperation (856–859).

Dionysus' attempt to bring these unruly rivals to order elicits a
belligerent response from Euripides. He is not one to be cowed by
the violence of the attack which the god has so fearfully prefigured.
On the contrary, he is ready to respond in kind: "I'm ready, I am —
and I'm not retreating — ready to bite — or, if this is what he wants,
to have him bite first the dialogue (τἄπη), the songs (τὰ μέλη), the
sinews (τὰ νεῦρα) of my tragedy — yes, by Zeus, my Peleus and my
Aeolus and my Meleager and *even* my Telephus" (860–864).[3]

  [2] Lines 854f have been translated somewhat freely in an attempt to render the
effect of the Aristophanic word-play which has long been recognized in these
lines, where Τήλεφον is abruptly substituted for an expected and somewhat
homonymous ἐγκέφαλον, and κεφαλαίῳ amusingly emerges as no less apt
anatomically than rhetorically. See *Stanford ad loc.* and *Radermacher–Kraus*,
266.
  [3] The full Greek text of these lines runs as follows:

> ἕτοιμός εἰμ' ἔγωγε, κοὐκ ἀνδύομαι,
> δάκνειν δάκνεσθαι πρότερος, εἰ τούτῳ δοκεῖ,
> τἄπη, τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγῳδίας,
> καὶ νὴ Δία τὸν Πηλέα γε καὶ τὸν Αἴολον
> καὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον κἄτι μάλα τὸν Τήλεφον.

Editors have usually interpreted 862–864 as a continuous series, considering
the initial καί in 863 as "connective"; cf. *Merry, Radermacher–Kraus, Rogers,
Stanford*, and *Tucker*. In view of the abrupt shift from the asyndetic construc-
tion of 862 to the καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καί construction of 863f, however, it
seems preferable to take the initial καί of 863 as "corresponsive" (cf. *Denniston*
323 III 1), with γε functioning independently as an "emphatic" particle (cf.
Denniston 115), and to understand 863f not as additions to a single series but
rather as a distinct appositional unit intended to lend further definition to the
generalities of 862. (The occasional appearance of καί in an otherwise asyndetic
series seems limited to cases where it serves as a single connective between the

The subtlety of the humor in this response has never been fully appreciated. The orderly procedure of mutual cross-examination which Dionysus has just urged (ἔλεγχ', ἐλέγχου) is instantaneously transformed by Euripides into a biting match (δάκνειν, δάκνεσθαι).[4] In his choice of this violent metaphor he proclaims his own mood to be no less murderous than his brow-battering antagonist's.[5] The words, if we can believe the ancient scholiast on the line, are intended to suggest the image of a cock-fight.[6] If so, it may well be that the lines were accompanied by some fancy feinting and cock-like hops on the part of the elusively mobile Euripides. In any case, the contrast of projected fighting styles is not without its comic significance. Aeschylus, who is shortly to proclaim his predilection for the staunch simplicity and martial vigor of the Homeric spirit (cf. 1034ff), is pictured launching a frontal attack, wielding his heady phrases as an epic hero does his weaponry of war.[7] Euripides, on the other hand, as is appropriate for the acknowledged virtuoso of verbal stratagem and enthusiastic advocate of oral exercise,[8] prefers to use his teeth.[9]

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last two elements only; cf. *Denniston* 289f.) A similar interpretation is suggested by *Daele's* translation. In either view there is a clear implication that the "parts" cited in 862 are specifically those possessed by the "wholes" of 863f.

[4] Cf. *Stanford ad* 861: "The phrase almost parodies the beginning of 857."

[5] The interpretation of ἀναδύομαι advanced by *Radermacher–Kraus*, 267 ("... ἀναδύεσθαι (860) bedeutet den Rücktritt von einer Vereinbarung"), unjustifiably softens the clearly combative tenor of this speech. It is not from any "agreement" that Euripides refuses to retreat, but rather from the dangerous onslaught of which Dionysus has just forewarned him. The frequent uses of ἀναδύεσθαι to denote retreat from danger, usually the physical danger of war or personal combat (cf. *Il.* 7.217,13. 225; *Od.* 9.377; *Lys.* 16.15; D. 8.50; D.H. 5.52) provide parallels far more apt to this Aristophanic use than does the single Platonic passage (*Tht.* 145 c) adduced by *R–K*.

[6] Schol. RV *ad* 861: ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων. Cf. *Eq.* 495f, where, however, the use of λόφους in 496 makes the imagery far more specific than in the present passage. It would, of course, harmonize nicely with the results of the weighing scene which concludes the agon if the lightweight Euripides here adopted the battle-stance of a fighting bird in response to the epic massiveness of Aeschylus' threatened onslaught. Cf. the ἐπτερωμένον joke at 1038.

[7] Cf. 854f: θένων κτλ. θείνειν is frequently used by Homer of blows inflicted by the sword; cf. *Il.* 20.481, 16.339, 10.484, 21.21. The κρόταφος is also a prime target of Homeric warriors; cf. *Il.* 4.502 and 20.397, where the result is a spattering of brains (cf. ἐγκέφαλος κτλ..: 20.399f) such as Dionysus here foresees for Euripides.

[8] See, e.g., 771ff and 948ff.

[9] Euripides' metaphor here is also found to be "seinem Temperament entsprechend" by *Radermacher–Kraus*, 267, though it is not said why.

Euripides' wiliness with words is, in fact, admirably demonstrated by this very speech. If we look carefully at the lines which follow his first expression of readiness to fight, we find a characteristic shrewdness beneath the surface show of bravado. For we there discover that it is not his own person which Euripides is prepared to risk in so graciously surrendering the right of biting first to Aeschylus, but rather his tragic corpus — or indeed, to be more precise, the corpora of several of his favorite tragic heroes: Peleus, Aeolus, Meleager, and Telephus. And throughout, Aristophanes contrives the same clever fusion of metaphorical and literal meanings which enlivened this speech's companion-piece, Dionysus' description of Aeschylus' impending attack. Euripides offers up to his opponent not only four tragedies which can be carped at, but also four flesh-and-blood heroes who can literally be "bitten." He exposes to the teeth of criticism not only "the dialogue" ($\tau\check{a}\pi\eta$), "the songs" ($\tau\grave{a}$ $\mu\acute{e}\lambda\eta$), and "the cohesive structure" ($\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$) of these dramas,[10] but also, in the case of the last two nouns at least,

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[10] Scholarly opinion is almost unanimous in attributing the sense *diverbia et cantica* to $\tau\check{a}\pi\eta$ and $\tau\grave{a}$ $\mu\acute{e}\lambda\eta$ respectively; cf. *Leeuwen, Kock, Merry, Tucker, Rogers,* and *Radermacher–Kraus ad loc. Stanford,* though he prefers to find in $\tau\check{a}\pi\eta$ a reference to "phrasing" or "diction," also considers a general reference to "dialogue" possible. The reference of $\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$, however, has been disputed. Some prefer to take the phrase in apposition to the two previous nouns and argue for the meaning advanced by the grammarian Phrynichus (Bekker, *Anecd.* 64, · 26): $\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ $\tau\hat{\eta}s$ $\tau\rho a\gamma\omega\delta\acute{i}as$: $o\check{i}o\nu$ $\tau\grave{a}$ $\kappa\nu\rho\iota\acute{\omega}\tau a\tau a$ $\kappa a\grave{i}$ $\dot{a}\nu\acute{e}\chi o\nu\tau a$ $a\dot{v}\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$. Cf. *Fritzsche* and *Radermacher–Kraus ad loc.*, also *Schmid,* 347 n. 2 ($\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ = $\tau\grave{a}$ $\sigma\nu\nu\acute{e}\chi o\nu\tau a$). *Taillardat,* 451 #779, limits the apposition to $\tau\grave{a}$ $\mu\acute{e}\lambda\eta$. A similar view is implied by *Daele*'s translation. Others prefer to understand a reference to a third and different aspect of tragic structure; cf. *ad loc. Kock* ("nicht Apposition ... sondern das feste Gerüst, die sittliche Grundlage derselben ..."), *Merry* ("the whole framework and constitution of his dramas"), *Leeuwen* ("*ipsosque adeo nervos tragoediae*"), *Tucker* ("the firm-knit structure of the piece"), *Rogers* ("the general anatomy"), and *Stanford* ("the plot or construction"). Stanford's view is also shared by M. Pohlenz, "Die Anfänge der Griechischen Poetik," *Gött. Nach.* 1920, 145 ($\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ = $\dot{\eta}$ $\sigma\acute{v}\sigma\tau a\sigma\iota s$) and by U. von Wilamowitz, "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* 64 (1929) 476 ($\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ = "Mythos und $o\dot{i}\kappa o\nu o\mu\acute{i}a$"). Since the apposition of $\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ to $\tau\grave{a}$ $\mu\acute{e}\lambda\eta$ on the most obvious anatomical level of meaning seems forced, the second interpretation of the passage seems preferable in assuming three distinct literary elements on the metaphorical level as well. (For less obvious anatomical references of $\tau\grave{a}$ $\mu\acute{e}\lambda\eta$ and $\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$, see n. 26 below.) In any case, the physical sense of $\tau\grave{a}$ $\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\rho a$ will certainly have been felt by Aristophanes' audience, for the metaphor was apparently both fresh and bold. It occurs here for the first time in preserved Greek literature; for later metaphorical uses, cf. Aeschin. 3.166, Pl. *R.* 411 b, D. 19.283. Pohlenz' assumption, *loc. cit.*, that Aristophanes' use of the metaphor presupposes that it "schon

the actual human anatomy of these heroes, their very "limbs" and "sinews." But what then of the initial τάπη? Can it be that here Aristophanes' ingenuity failed him, forcing him to curtail the elaborate exploitation of double meanings which permeates the rest of the passage?

All those who have previously commented upon this line appear to think so. Many, in fact, seem to have found the reference of τάπη so unequivocally literary that they have failed to note the secondary anatomical significances of both τὰ μέλη and τὰ νεῦρα.[11] Aristophanes would, I think, be disappointed at posterity's deafness to one of his better and more obvious puns.[12] For if one reads 862 aloud, having just absorbed the image of violent physical conflict suggested by Euripides' metaphor of the biting fight in 861, one cannot fail to hear in τάπη — "the dialogue" — a clear suggestion of τὰ πέη — "the phalli."[13] Euripides, in short, bravely subjects his four conspicuously

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vorher in theoretischen Debatten geprägt war" seems arbitrary. A far more likely genesis of the phrase can be found in the poet's manifest desire to play here with anatomical imagery.

[11] The double function of τὰ μέλη and τὰ νεῦρα is ignored by *Fritzsche*, *Leeuwen*, *Kock*, and *Radermacher–Kraus ad loc.* British editors have all proved more sensitive to the word-play; cf. *Merry*, *Rogers*, *Tucker*, and *Stanford ad loc.*

[12] Most of the puns in *Ranae* which receive comment from *Stanford* seem far more forced and contrived than that which shall be suggested here; cf. 85 (μακάρων for Μακεδόνων), 970 (Κεῖος for Κῷος), and 1301 (Palmer's μέλι for μέλη).

[13] That the form on which the pun is based is Ionic (πέη) rather than Attic (πέα; on the avoidance of η after ε ι ρ in Attic, see *Schwyzer*, 187ff) does not, I think, undermine the probability of this suggestion. As a rule, it is true, the dialogue of Old Comedy, unlike that of Tragedy, rigorously eschewed Ionisms and thus achieved a remarkable purity of Attic dialect; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes: Lysistrate* (Berlin 1927) 31ff. When it suited his purposes, however, Aristophanes was clearly capable of exploiting an Ionic form; cf. his consistent use of Περικλέης instead of the Attic Περικλῆς. (*Ach.* 530, *Eq.* 283, *Nu.* 859, *Pax* 606; cf. *Schwyzer*, 580.) Furthermore, it is clear that some forms of the Ionic -εη type enjoyed a certain vogue in Attic at the end of the fifth century; cf. *Schwyzer*, 575 n. 2 (-εης instead of -ῆς as nominative plural of -ευς nouns) and Lys. 6.20 (δέη instead of the expected δέα as plural of δέος). The latter, of course, constitutes a valuable parallel to the πέη form postulated here. (Though the reliability of the attribution of the Κατ' Ἀνδοκίδου to Lysias has frequently been questioned, the prevailing opinion seems to be that, whatever its authorship, it belongs to the year 399 B.C. and that its Attic dialect is beyond suspicion. For a defense of the possibility of Lysianic authorship, cf. K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley 1968) 78ff and 193f; D. MacDowell, *Andokides: On the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962) 14ff, attributes the speech to one of the three prosecutors, most probably Meletus. On the dialect of the speech, cf. L. Gernet, *Lysias: Discours, Tome I*

male tragic protagonists to precisely that pain which an alarmed Demos fears he will suffer from Apollo's self-appointed hound, Cleon: ἐγὼ δὲ πρῶτα λήψομαι λίθον, / ἵνα μὴ μ' ὁ χρησμὸς τὸ πέος οὑτοσὶ δάκῃ (*Eq.* 1028f).[14] Thus understood, the word completes the comic fusion of dramatic structure and human anatomy, and line 862 becomes a virtuoso exercise in word-play through its successive exploitation of simple pun (τἄπη), double-meaning (τὰ μέλη), and simultaneously literal and metaphorical significance (τὰ νεῦρα).[15]

Against this suggestion that τἄπη conceals a punning reference to τὰ πέη it can fairly be argued that the nominative-accusative plural of πέος is nowhere attested in Greek literature.[16] Surely, however, it

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(Paris 1924) 91: . . . mais il faut être bien intrépide dans l'affirmation pour assurer que la langue du discours n'est plus du 'bon attique.'" It is worth noting that nowhere else in the speech is the Attic ε ι ρ rule ignored; cf. ὑγιᾶ at 6.12 and πρᾳότητα at 6.34.) It may also be argued that there is nothing surprising in Euripides, as a poet familiar with the freedoms of tragic dialect, punning here upon an Ionic form. Nor is there any reason to object to the suggested τἄπη–τὰ πέη pun on the ground that it involves a play upon two phrases of different accentuation; cf. the jokes on ἀπ' ὄνου–ἀπὸ νοῦ at *Nu.* 1273 and on δῆμος–δημός at *Eq.* 954 and *V.* 39ff. In order to activate such puns it required only that the comic actor blur the accentuation of the phrase in question until it became ambiguous, i.e., that he do by design what the un-fortunate tragic actor Hegelochus did by accident; cf. *Ra.* 303f and *Stanford ad loc.* For an excellent discussion of such calculated mispronunciations, see W. B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek* (Berkeley 1967) 31f and 145.

[14] This reading of 1029, accepted by Bergk, Meinecke, and *Hall-Geldart*, is based upon a note by V¹, subsequently erased, detected by Velsen in the margin of V. I find it preferable, as providing a sharper and more intelligible comic point, to the alternative, which is to follow the almost unanimous ms. tradition in reading ὁ περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς δάκῃ at the end of 1029 and τὸ πέος οὑτοσὶ δάκοι at the end of 1010. For a detailed discussion of the mss. difficulties in these lines and for a vigorous, but not, I think, decisive, attack on the views of Velsen and Bergk, see B. B. Rogers, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (London 1910), 235f. Fortunately, both interpretations provide us with the desired Aristophanic parallel for the pairing of πέος with δάκνειν.

[15] I here use "pun" in the strict sense of a play upon etymologically un-related words of similar sound but dissimilar meaning. Though plays upon two different meanings of the same word, such as we find in μέλη, are also frequently termed puns, it seems desirable to distinguish by more accurate terminology the two very different techniques employed by Aristophanes in this line.

[16] Nominative-accusative plurals of the few third declension neuters in -εος are, in fact, relatively rare. *Schwyzer*, 511f, lists but five nouns of this type in addition to τὸ πέος: τὸ σπέος, the Aeschylean archaism τὸ ῥέος, τὸ κλέος, τὸ δέος, and τὸ ἔλεος, which does not occur before Polybius. To these should be added τὸ χρέος. For the first two of these nouns no nominative-accusative

would be perverse to assume that Aristophanes, whose very art derives much of its comic vigor from creative liberties of language, would have been incapable of conceiving a nonexistent plural and exploiting it in pursuit of a humorous point. Certainly his audience was as well aware as he that πέη was a plausible plural of πέος, and the point of the pun could have been easily clarified beyond mistaking by an explanatory gesture on the part of Euripides.[17]

It may also be argued that it is Τραγῳδία which Aristophanes is here personifying,[18] and that therefore to hear in τἄπη a punning reference to τὰ πέη is to conjure up an image which is pointlessly grotesque. Not even Aristophanes seems likely to have pictured Mistress Tragedy in possession of a phallus, much less this embarrassing plurality of phalli. Hence the personification of Τραγῳδία renders impossible any intent by the poet to exploit the suggested pun.

Such an objection, however, does not seem decisive. For it can be argued with equal justification that the presence of the pun in τἄπη renders impossible any intent by the poet to personify Τραγῳδία. On the contrary, what he intends to personify is not Tragedy, but four specific tragedies, each of which he materializes in the form of a male hero. It is these four figures whom he wishes his audience to supply with the anatomical elements specified in 862, an association which is

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plural is preserved anywhere in Greek literature. Τὰ κλέα occurs only in Hesiod and epic; cf. Hes. *Th.* 100, *Il.* 9.189, and A.R. 1.1. Hes. *Op.* 647 preserves τὰ χρέα, a form later exploited by Aristophanes (*Nu.* 39, 443) and other Attic authors; cf., e.g., D. 38.7. Τὰ ἐλέη as a plural for τὸ ἔλεος occurs only in the Old Testament; cf. *Ps.* 16 (17).10. The case of τὸ δέος is particularly interesting, for here no fewer than three different plurals are attested: τὰ δέη (Lys. 6.20), τὰ δέα (Ael. *N.A.* 8.10), and (!) τὰ δέατα (Hecat. 364 J). This suggests that authors exercised considerable freedom in inventing nominative-accusative forms for certain nouns of the -εος type for which no such forms had been securely established in earlier literature. If this is indeed the case, we have further reason not to query Aristophanes' intention to base a pun upon an assumed plural of the Ionic type; cf. n. 13 above.

[17] An audience attuned to the frequent Ionisms of Attic tragedy would have no difficulty in recognizing a form of the πέη type. Furthermore, if Euripides' costume included a visible phallus, the joke would have been particularly obvious. That tights, phallus, and short chiton were "the normal costume of Old and Middle Comedy" is cogently argued by *Pickard-Cambridge,* 222. Occasionally, however, the phallus could be concealed by an overgarment; cf. *Pickard-Cambridge,* 221.

[18] Cf. *Stanford ad loc.*: "... since μέλη can also mean 'limbs,' perhaps a personification of Tragedy is intended"; cf. also *Taillardat,* 451 #779: "La Tragédie est aussi une femme dont les 'muscles' sont les parties lyriques ..."

made both easy and obvious by the very plural which proves so perplexing when erroneously viewed in the context of Mistress Tragedy personified.[19]

The strongest support for the interpretation of τἄπη here suggested, however, derives from another Aristophanic passage, the merrily obscene opening of *Thesmophoriazusae*. For there we find the poet once again punning upon τὸ ἔπος and τὸ πέος. The cautious approach to Agathon's house by Euripides and Mnesilochus has concluded with a jibe at the young tragedian's promiscuity as passive partner in homosexual intercourse (βεβίνηκας κτλ *Th.* 35). Abruptly Agathon's servant appears and, after some grandiose preliminaries in high tragic style, announces that his master, "the elegantly articulate Agathon" (ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων 49) is on the verge of some momentous undertaking. The epithet seems to have been coined by Aristophanes,[20] clearly in pursuit of precisely the same comic double entendre which we find in *Ra.* 862. Agathon, in short, is pictured as not only "elegantly articulate" but also "elegantly articulated," i.e. endowed with a καλὸν πέος. It is the latter sense to which Mnesilochus immediately points in the obscene interruption by which he concludes the sentence begun by the pompous servant. Agathon is on the verge, he suggests, of some elegant work indeed, but work involving τὸ πέος, not τὸ ἔπος: μῶν βινεῖσθαι; (50). The joke, of course, is double-edged. Not only does Mnesilochus transform the act of poetic creation into an act of homosexual intercourse, but he also, by use of the passive form, implies that the καλὸν πέος which will be involved belongs not to Agathon but rather to his projected partner.[21] The same comic point is pursued

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[19] It thus seems likely that the gender of the protagonist was a key factor in Aristophanes' selection of the tragedies which Euripides here offers up for criticism. After Aeschylus' jibe at Κρητικὰς μονῳδίας and ἀνοσίους γάμους (849f), it would have been both easy and appropriate to include *Cretan Women* among the projected victims. (For Apollonius' suggestion that 849f refer to Κρῆσσαι, see schol. *ad loc.*) That, however, would have ruled out the play on τὰ πέη. The usual view is that Euripides' choice of tragedies here is dictated by their immediate relevance to the preceding criticisms of Aeschylus. See *Fritzsche* and *Kock ad* 864; also *Radermacher–Kraus*, 267. This will explain the presence of *Telephus, Aeolus*, and perhaps also *Peleus*. It will not, however, account for the inclusion of *Meleager*, as *Fritzsche* concedes.

[20] Καλλιεπής occurs first here in preserved Greek literature. It is not found again until the Roman period; cf. D. H. *Comp.* 18.

[21] In Aristophanic usage, the active of the verb βινεῖν is reserved for the active partner in intercourse, whether it be heterosexual (cf., e.g., *Ach.* 1052 *Lys.* 934, 954) or homosexual (cf. *Ec.* 706 and *Lys.* 1092 — where the notorious effeminate Cleisthenes is the object). The middle-passive forms of the verb

again at 142, where Mnesilochus, upon his first view of the effeminate poet, is perplexed by the striking deficiency in his anatomy: καὶ ποῦ πέος.

The servant, ignoring this rude suggestion, perseveres with his description of Agathon's creative efforts, concocting a lavish mixture of metaphors drawn from shipbuilding and other handicrafts (52–57). But now that Mnesilochus has so emphatically introduced the βινεῖν theme, many of these superficially innocuous images begin to ring with a sly sexual significance of which the servant is altogether innocent. Agathon, it seems, is bending his "dialogue" into some novel arches: κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἁψῖδας ἐπῶν (53). Here again, I would suggest, Aristophanes invites us to detect in ἐπῶν a pun on πεῶν, hinting that the tragedian is ingeniously flexing something a good deal more down to earth than taut lines of poetry. We are told, furthermore, that he is doing some twisting on the lathe: τορνεύει (54). He is also engaged in the gluing together of songs: κολλομελεῖ (54). The word, another Aristophanic invention, seems coined in order to exploit a pun on κολλᾷ μέλη, a gluing together of anatomical members, with μέλη performing precisely the same double function as in *Ra.* 862. Similarly suggestive are the images of energetic "mold-filling" (κηροχυτεῖ 56) and "funnel-ing" (χοανεύει 57) with which the servant completes the picture of his master's preoccupations.[22] And again it is Mnesilochus who serves to bring the underlying obscenity to the surface of the dialogue, appending an impertinently explicit καὶ λαικάζει to this elegant list of Agathon's activities (57).[23]

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are reserved for the passive participant in both situations (cf., of women, *Ec.* 228, 525; of men, *Eq.* 877–879 and, with reference to male homosexual prostitution, 1242). A joke very similar to this recurs at 206. There Agathon has just refused to attend the Thesmophoria on the grounds that he will be suspected of stealing the secrets of the rites and purloining the ladies' "Aphro-dite": δοκῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα νυκτερείσια / κλέπτειν ὑφαρπάζειν τε θήλειαν Κύπριν (204f). Mnesilochus is quick to clarify the coy ambiguity of this pretext: ἰδού γε κλέπτειν: νὴ Δία βινεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν.

[22] The use of ἀντονομάζει at 55 (= "employs rhetorical figures"; cf. *LSJ* s.v. II.1) may be dictated by the desire to exploit a pun on ἔντονος, or ἐντονία. The latter occurs once in late Greek (Horap. I.46) denoting "*distentio penis.*" There is, unfortunately, no evidence that these words were readily associated with phallic contexts in Aristophanes' day.

[23] In λαικάζει, which, strictly construed, denotes heterosexual intercourse (cf. *LSJ* s.v.: "to wench"), Agathon's predilection for the passive role and his supposed lack of πέος are apparently briefly ignored for the sake of a joke. The verb harmonizes with the sexual nuances possessed by the preceding meta-phors, where Agathon's role as an actively creative poet dictates an equally

It is in the lines which follow, however, that Aristophanes most unmistakably reveals his intent to point the pun which he has contrived in καλλιεπής. For after the servant has haughtily asked the identity of this boor who has approached the "coping" of his master's halls (θριγκοῖς 58), Mnesilochus mischievously repeats not only this pompous piece of tragic diction[24] but also the pretentious epithet which began the slave's description of Agathon's activities within the house. In both cases, as is to be expected, the senses which he exorts from these bits of elevated language prove patently obscene. He is ready, he says, to do some "funneling" of his (χοανεῦσαι 62) upon the "coping" (κατὰ θριγκοῦ 60)[25] of the servant and the "elegantly articulated poet" (τοῦ τε ποιητοῦ / τοῦ καλλιεποῦς 59f). The καλὸν πέος to be employed, however, shall be not the poet's but his own: τουτὶ τὸ πέος (62). The parallelism of the word-play here with that suggested for *Ra.* 862 seems manifest.

Admittedly, the mining of undetected obscenities from the undeniably rich ground of Aristophanic comedy is, in itself, an undertaking of relatively minor philological significance. In this case, however, a proper perception of the phallic image suggested by *Ra.* 862 constitutes a matter of some importance.[26] For in this play tragedy's loss of the appropriate virile vigor is a principal concern, hilariously and

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active function for him in the underlying images of intercourse in order for the double entendre to become effective. Agathon is soon returned to his habitual role, however. Cf. Mnesilochus' subsequent remarks, 59ff.

[24] The synecdochic use of θριγκός for "wall" seems to be a bold flourish of Euripidean tragic style; cf. *Ion* 1321. It does not recur until Greek literature of the Roman period; cf. Paus. I.42.7.

[25] That θριγκός is here used to denote πρωκτός seems to have been sensed by the schol. *ad* 62: ὡς εἰς χόανον τὸν πρωκτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν. (*Contra* Rutherford *ad loc.*, there is no need to insert a second εἰς in order to retain πρωκτόν here. Greek idiom regularly avoids repeating the preposition in comparisons of this form; cf. C. G. Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*[2] (Lugduni–Batavorum 1873), 163ff. It is possible that θριγκός occasionally enjoyed this anatomical sense in Attic vernacular, but it seems far more probable that Mnesilochus' use here is original, a bold obscenity coined to rival the bold tragic usage employed by the servant; cf. *Fritzsche ad loc.*: "*pro culo enim θριγκός nominat paratragoedians.*"

[26] The phallic imagery here may well, in fact, not be limited solely to the punning reference to τὰ πέη. The term νεῦρον itself is employed of the phallus by Pl. Com., 173.19 (cf. also Call. Fr. 199 P[2], Gal. 8.442, and the proverb cited by Athenaeus, II. 64 b), a usage which seems to be acknowledged by Aristophanes' choice of the participle νενευρωμένη at *Lys.* 1078; cf. the schol. *ad loc.*: νενευρωμένη δὲ συμφορά· τὴν ἔντασιν τοῦ αἰδοίου λέγει. νεῦρον γὰρ (τὸ αἰδοῖον). Sandwiched as it is between τἄπη-τὰ πέη and τὰ νεῦρα, τὰ μέλη may also be understood to comprise a reference to this specific anatomical member.

unforgettably symbolized by the figure of Dionysus at the start of the play, an effete and feckless god strutting in the outrageously incongruous garb of Heraclean heroism. His search, it must be remembered, is for a truly "seminal" (γόνιμον 96) poet. It is thus altogether appropriate that Euripides at 862 should offer up to criticism not only the "dialogue" but also the "phalli" of his tragedies; not only their poetic qualities but also their regenerative potential. And, finally, if we accept a recent suggestion that the famous lekythion passage, 1198ff, is founded upon a phallic image,[27] the punning reference to πέη in 862 gains very

[27] Cf. C. H. Whitman, "*ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ,*" *HSCP* 73 (1969) 109ff. Whitman argues that ληκύθιον, both by reason of the shape of the vase denoted and by a similarity of sound with ληκώ (= *membrum virile* according to Hesychius and Photius; cf. ληκάω: Ar. *Th.* 493), and perhaps with the help of an explanatory gesture contributed by Aeschylus, is designed as a double entendre suggesting that what "the men of Euripides' prologues had lost was something of greater moment than a small piece of pottery." (110) Whitman's thesis, accepted by J. G. Griffith, "*ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ:* a Postscript," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 43f, and by J. T. Hooker, "*Αὐτολήκυθος,*" *RhM* 113 (1970) 162ff, has been sharply attacked by J. Henderson, "The Lekythos and *Frogs* 1200-48, *HSCP* 76 (1972) 133ff. Henderson's reasons for rejecting Whitman do not seem to me to be fully cogent. He objects that the phallic by-play assumed by Whitman in order to clarify the pun cannot be "demonstrated" (134); and yet his own thesis (139) that Aeschylus wears, as a stage prop, a real lekythos which he wields "bola-style" in this scene is in no way more readily "demonstrable." (It may be added that, *contra* Henderson, Harpocration *s.v.* αὐτολήκυθος does not speak of Menander employing lekythoi in this fashion, but rather of the thongs being removed from the pots in order to administer a flogging.) Furthermore, if lekythoi were used as stage props in *Ranae*, it seems far more probable that they were of the elongated type associated with funerary monuments than that they were of the small round type which Henderson insists Aristophanes had in mind. Those of the former type, though admittedly not as perfectly phallic in shape as the alabastos (which Aristophanes undeniably utilizes for obscene jokes of a similar nature; cf. Henderson, 136f), nonetheless is sufficiently suggestive in form to support Whitman's thesis. If the poet, in pursuit of phallic humor here, neglects the ideal symbol of the alabastos, it is clearly because the shape of the word to be employed (diminutive with paeonic scansion) is no less important to his comic purposes than the shape of the vessel itself. Henderson is equally unsuccessful in refuting the suggestion, independently advanced by both Griffith and Hooker, that αὐτοληκύθους at D. 54.14 possesses a similarly obscene sense. Whatever the usual meaning of this word may have been, the context there, where young dissipates are said "playfully" (παίζοντες) to call themselves τοὺς μὲν ἰθυφάλλους, τοὺς δ' αὐτοληκύθους constitutes a strong case for the presence of a phallic pun. (Henderson, who flatly states, 143, that the youths' outrages "have nothing to do with sex," simply ignores the words which immediately follow: ἐρῶσι δ' ἐκ τούτων ἑταιρῶν τινες). Finally, Henderson's thesis that Aristophanes wishes to present the characters of Euripides' prologues as disreputable αὐτολήκυθοι

special point. For in that case we find ourselves actually witnessing the attack to which Euripides surrenders the πέη of his tragedies. The results are devastating. Aeschylus, himself wielding a destructive πέος (1199f), succeeds in emasculating every tragedy which Euripides brings to bear. Before he is through, Aegyptus, Dionysus, Cadmus, Pelops, Oeneus, and very nearly Zeus himself, prove to have lost their πέη. The anatomy of Euripidean tragedy thus emerges as no less strikingly incomplete than that of the effeminate Agathon in *Thesmophoriazusae*. Dionysus might well cry here, as does Mnesilochus there: ποῦ τὸ πέος.

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(which he understands to refer to those who have been forced to dispense with the usual δοῦλος ληκυθόφορος, either through dissipation of wealth or through nefarious designs, or both), seems an odd conclusion indeed to an interpretation of the scene which has introduced *Aeschylus* as an αὐτολήκυθος *par excellence*; cf. 139: "Aeschylus chooses (the lekythos) which he is actually carrying at the moment."

SPEECH AND NARRATIVE IN THE *AENEID*

Gilbert Highet

THIS paper is a study of Vergil's methods of interweaving speech and narrative.

There are different techniques of introducing speeches into a narrative poem. Homer does it regularly and formally. He employs a fairly limited range of verbs of speaking to mark the opening of a speech and its conclusion: ἀγόρευε, ἠμείβετο, προσέειπε, προσέφη, ἦ, ὡς εἰπών, ὡς φάτο.[1] Vergil is more concerned to vary the introductory and terminal verbs, and often makes them indicate the emotional state of the speaker, together with his relation to his hearers. Therefore he uses many and various verbs and verbal phrases: *canit, hisco, incipio, memorat, uox excidit ore, caelum questibus implet, haec insuper addit, maestas expromere uoces.* Furthermore, Homer almost invariably begins a speech with the first word of a line and ends it with the last word of a line, and introduces it by a sentence of one or sometimes two complete lines, standing outside the speech. He even inserts padding to fill out the lines introducing a speech, e.g. καὶ μετέειπεν (*Il.* 1. 73) and πεπνυμένα μήδεα εἰδώς (*Il.* 7. 278, just after πεπνυμένω ἄμφω in line 276).

The other Greek epic poets follow him faithfully. This was pointed out long ago by Kvičala in a study of Vergil's practice.[2] He found one departure from the rule in Quintus Smyrnaeus and some in Nonnus, but dismissed them as being "not real speeches." It would have been better to admit that these late writers (who both apparently knew Ovid at least among the Roman poets) were attracted by the freer movement of Latin epic. In Quintus, 14. 602–604 is a τις-speech like *Il.* 4. 178–181. So, in Nonnus, are 39. 143–144 and 145–148, while 27. 49, 35. 49–53,

[1] These formulae are examined by A. Fingerle on pp. 306–448 of his dissertation "Typik der homerischen Reden" (Munich, 1939, unpublished). He shows that προσέφη is the commonest opener, occurring 205 times, and ὡς φάτο the commonest closing phrase, used 138 times.

[2] "Ueber den Anfang und Schluss der Reden der Aeneis," pp. 265–274 of his *Neue Beitraege zur Erklaerung der Aeneis* (Prague, 1881). Kvičala does not mention the little speech of Achilles beginning at *Il.* 23.855, which is pointed out as unique in Homer by J. R. Gjerløw on p. 46 of his "Bemerkungen über einige Einleitungen zur direkten Rede in Vergils Aeneis" (*SO* 32, 1956).

45. 92–93, 45. 170–171, and 47. 433–434 are imagined objections (ἀλλ᾽ ἐρέεις) within speeches; 1. 129 is an imagined outcry of the sea and its coasts; 15. 390–391, 15. 406, and 16. 291 are spoken by trees; but 15. 417–419 and 42. 38–39 are uttered by gods. Some at least of these are real speeches and none begins at the beginning of the line. In his hexameter hymns, which are quite close to the tone of epic, Callimachus occasionally starts a speech in mid-line: witness the speeches of Leto in the *Hymn to Delos* 150 and 212 and the speech of Zeus in the *Hymn to Artemis* 29–39. The informal speeches in Erinna's *Distaff* (D. L. Page, *Literary Papyri III*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 486) and in the anonymous lament (Page, p. 500) need not be considered, since the poems although in hexameters are not epic. The hexameter poem on the Persian war (Page, p. 542) may have contained a *cohortatio* ending in the first foot of the line with βούλομαι; but we have only that one word, restored, and cannot be sure.

As for the ends of speeches, Homer once and once only closes a speech before the termination of the line, in *Il.* 2. 70; and then it is the speech of the Dream, which Agamemnon is repeating verbatim from *Il.* 2. 23–34, merely curtailing its final words. Never does Homer do this elsewhere, or Hesiod, Apollonius, and the others.[3]

The first hexameter poet in Latin, Ennius, sometimes abandons Homeric practice, at least as far as concerns the opening of speeches: e.g.

> simul inter
> sese sic memorant: "o Romule, Romule die!"
>   (*Ann.* 110–111 Vahlen)

and

> infit: "o ciues. . . ."
>   (*Ann.* 394)[4]

Lucretius (although there are few speeches in his poem) does the same at 3. 900 and 3. 914. Catullus, however, starts all the speeches in his "miniature epic" at the first syllable of the verse (64. 132, 215, 323), doubtless because he desires to be correct and formal in this neoteric

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[3] R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich, 1967), shows in §6 that the lyric poets are more careful to make the end of a speech correspond with a metrical pause than the beginning: e.g. the Centaur's speech in Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.39–65 Bowra.

[4] Compare also the brief speech of Mars within Ilia's account of her dream in *Ann.* 45–46.

work.[5] The fragments of Ennius do not show us any speech terminating before the end of the line, nor do the six books of Lucretius, nor Catullus's Peleus and Thetis poem. Cicero's hexameter translations from Homer begin and end speeches exactly at the beginning and end of the verses (see fragments 22. 23–28 and 24. 1–2 Morel).[6]

Vergil, however, is very free about placing his speeches within the narrative framework. Sometimes he will begin a speech in the middle of a line and close it at the line-ending (e.g. 6. 713–718), sometimes the reverse (e.g. 8. 560–583); and sometimes neither the opening nor the close of a speech coincides with the opening and close of metrical lines (e.g. 9. 281–292). On pp. 266–268 Kvíčala (n. 2 above) gives some statisties for the speeches in the *Aeneid* which have regular and irregular beginnings and endings — if we may use the term "regular" to mean coincident with the opening or close of the metrical line. His figures and his references are not always accurate; still, they show that roughly one quarter of Vergil's speeches in the *Aeneid* have an irregular opening, and one quarter an irregular close.

Commenting on his study, Norden (*Aeneis VI*, p. 136) suggests that the Greek poets, with their finer sense of style, instinctively refrained from breaking the rhythm in the middle of a verse by changing from narrative to speech. This may be. Yet modern knowledge of the background of the Homeric poems makes it certain that the practice was established by centuries of oral composition — which makes padding such as καὶ μετέειπεν almost necessary and relatively inoffensive to the ear. It was doubtless continued because of the traditional reverence of Greek epic poets for the style of Homer. Ennius, although *alter Homerus*, departed from it because he was writing in a different tongue and without the tradition of oral composition in hexameters: this was only one of his many un-Homeric experiments in rhythm. As for Vergil, analysis of his practice explains his motives in cultivating this sort of irregularity. He aimed at communicating emotion and movement to his speeches by interweaving them with the narrative. Perhaps also

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[5] In the appendixes of his *Aeneis VI*, Norden signalizes some metrical observances which are unusually frequent in Catullus 64, and indicate an attempt to maintain particularly high standards of formality: avoidance of enjambement (pp. 387–388); avoidance of a pause after the fifth trochee or fifth dactyl (p. 389); neat framing of a line between adjective and noun, as in 64. 54, 72, 77 (p. 391); reluctance to place an unimportant word at the end of the verse (pp. 400–401); and reluctance to juxtapose words with similar endings (p. 407).

[6] Varro of Atax has two brief interjections in the middle of a verse describing a Dionysiac revel (frg. 5 Morel).

he was thinking of the broken rhythms of certain exciting scenes in tragedy, such as Euripides' *Iph. Aul.* 1368, where an important speech starts in mid-line.

A more extensive treatment of certain aspects of this subject is given by W. K. Loesch in his Erlangen dissertation of 1927, "Die Einführung der direkten Rede bei den epischen Dichtern der Römer bis zur domitianischen Zeit." Writing before Milman Parry's investigations of oral poetry were published, he nevertheless emphasizes (p. 3) that the Homeric poems were meant not to be read, but to be heard. The reciter therefore had to make it perfectly clear to the audience exactly when he (or the poet) was speaking the narrative, and when one of the characters was making a speech. Furthermore, when Homer wished to communicate the emotion moving one of his personages to speak, he did so not by effects of sound and rhythm, as Vergil was to do later, but by describing a gesture (δάκρυ' ἀναπρήcαc, *Il.* 9. 433), by naming the speaker's emotional reaction (χαῖρε δ' 'Οδυccεύc, *Od.* 14. 51), or by characterizing the speech itself (χαλεπῶι ἠνίπαπε μύθωι, *Il.* 2. 245). Nevertheless, as Loesch observes (pp. 9–10), many of the speeches in the *Iliad* and still more in the *Odyssey* are prefaced by colorless one-line formulaic phrases. Apollonius in his *Argonautica* drops many of the formulae and puts some individuality into nearly half of his introductions to the speeches of his characters, although he still maintains neat metrical symmetry on the Homeric model. Turning to Roman epic, Loesch points out (p. 16) that Vergil's skilful *uariatio* keeps even his simplest phrases from exact repetition: e.g. *dictisque ita fatur amicis* (*Aen.* 2. 147), *ultro uerbis compellat amicis* (2. 372), *dictis solatur amicis* (5. 770), and *dictis adfatur amicis* (8. 126).

Loesch is chiefly interested in distinguishing the methods used by Vergil and his successors to convey the emotion of their characters in speech, and he pays less attention to the formal techniques by which a speech is introduced and concluded. This has recently been touched on by J. R. Gjerløw (n. 2 above). He is, however, almost exclusively concerned with the words denoting the act of speech, such as *inquit* and *ait*, and in the statistics of their use. Vergil, he says (p. 56), employs *fari* and its compounds not less than sixty-six times, as "the introductory word *par excellence*," possibly following Ennius.[7]

* * *

[7] Norden, *Aeneis VI*, pp. 137 and 440 (cited by Gjerløw), suggests that the tag, *atque ita fatur* (e.g. 12. 295), is adapted from Ennius, since the fifth-foot elision and the use of two final disyllables are not Vergilian.

BEGINNINGS WITHIN THE LINE

Most speeches in the *Aeneid* start at the opening of a line. This gives the impression that the speaker, even if deeply moved, is in command of himself, that his thoughts are regular and that his feelings are not disorderly. However, the first words spoken (or rather thought) by Juno and the first words uttered by Aeneas do not begin with the first foot of the hexameter: for the same reason. Each is overcome with emotion. Juno is still brooding over her unhealed wound, and her resentment suddenly erupts:

> haec secum: "mene incepto desistere uictam!"
>
> (1. 37)

Plunged into darkness, overwhelmed by thunder and lightning, Aeneas is paralysed with terror and despair:

> talia uoce refert: "o terque quaterque beati. . . .!"
>
> (1. 94)

This is one of Vergil's motives for beginning a speech within a verse: to show emotion breaking out of control. An even more striking example comes in Book Four. Even in the utmost stress of passion, all Dido's speeches begin and end regularly with the first and last feet of the line, until the moment when, looking from her tower, she sees the harbor empty. Then for the first time she entirely loses her self-control:

> terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
> flauentesque abscissa comas, "pro Iuppiter! ibit
> hic?" ait.
>
> (4. 589–591)

So also the Sibyl usually speaks in calm and measured tones (e.g. 6. 37, 322, 373, 399); but when the god begins to possess her, her words are irregularly situated within the hexameter lines, to show that she is no longer in full command of herself.

> uentum erat ad limen, cum uirgo "poscere fata
> tempus," ait, "deus, ecce deus!"
>
> (6. 45–46)

In the council of the gods Venus (although deeply moved) starts her speech formally and regularly:

> "o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas."
>
> (10. 18)

But Juno in her reply cannot wait; instead, she turns on her opponent, beginning part-way through the line:

> acta furore graui: "quid me alta silentia cogis
> rumpere?"
>
> (10. 63–64)

On the night before the duel, Turnus rehearses by donning his cuirass, sword, shield, and helmet. He grows more and more excited, *his agitur furiis*. Finally he grasps his spear, brandishes it, and breaks into a shout:

> uociferans: "nunc, o numquam frustrata uocatus
> hasta meos!"
>
> (12. 95–96)

In the last scene of all Aeneas stands over his victim wondering in silence whether to spare him, *iam iamque magis cunctans*. Suddenly he sees that Turnus is wearing the baldric he took from the corpse of Pallas. Rage overpowers him:

> furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis: "tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi?"
>
> (12. 946–948)

* * *

In other speeches, however, an opening retarded beyond the beginning of the line does not indicate a violent explosion of emotion. For instance, in this same scene Turnus begs for mercy.

> ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
> protendens: "equidem merui nec deprecor," inquit.
>
> (12. 930–931)

Wounded, helpless, humbled, he speaks with great difficulty. The postponement of the opening words is apparently intended to make this clear, since it is less assured and formal than a regular symmetrical opening. In the same way, Juno is humbled by Jupiter in their interview in Book Ten. Both the speeches of the sovereign deity start with the first word of the line (10. 607, 622). Both Juno's responses are framed as imploring questions, and both start in mid-line:

> cui Iuno summissa: "quid, o pulcherrime coniunx . . .?"
>
> (10. 611)

> et Iuno adlacrimans: "quid si, quae uoce grauaris . . .?"
>
> (10. 628)

Indeed, Jupiter, the divinity representing order and control, is the only important personage in the poem whose speeches invariably start with the first word of the line and almost always close with the last word of the line. The two exceptions are his decisive pronouncement in the council of the gods (10. 113), which moves into a thunderous oath, *totum nutu tremefecit Olympum,* and his final command to Juno to cease her persecution of the Trojans (12. 806), which is succeeded by a significant pause.

The first speech of Venus, addressed to Jupiter in 1. 229–253, is uttered with tears, starts with a plaintive question, and begins in mid-line. An actress speaking such a speech on the stage would start with a sob, and her first words would be voiced very quietly. The mid-line opening of Anchises' first speech (2. 638), which ends so decisively, is a little difficult to account for, unless it is intended to reflect his age and weakness. Speaking in the expectation of death, an old man might well start with a few faint words and then grow stronger. So King Lear, whose speeches almost always open at the beginning of the line, at last, in utter exhaustion, begins with a half-line:

> Pray do not mock me.
> I am a very foolish fond old man.
> (*King Lear* 4. 7. 59–60)

A speaker will sometimes pause before speaking, not through embarrassment or weakness, but in order to give greater weight to his words. Vergil makes a few such speeches start in mid-line, but always prefaces them by formal phrases to show that the pause is deliberate. Thus, Aeneas must wait until the Sibyl's prophetic frenzy is calmed before requesting a safe-conduct through the world of death.

> ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,
> incipit Aeneas heros: "non ulla laborum...."
> (6. 102–103)

The Sibyl's answer also seems to come slowly and gravely:

> sic orsa loqui uates: "sate sanguine diuum,
> Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerni."
> (6. 125–126)

When Aeneas answers Dido's first accusation, he has to pause and struggle for self-mastery.

> *tandem* pauca refert: "ego te...."
> (4. 333)

Such a speech is made calm and serious by the pause before its opening words. Other speeches, however, begin irregularly, part-way through the line, either because there is some urgency in the situation, or because the speaker feels himself superior to his hearer, or because he is young and careless. So Aeneas, dreaming away his destiny, building an alien city and wearing alien clothes, is shocked back to reality by the messenger of God, who addresses him abruptly:

> continuo[8] inuadit: "tu nunc Karthaginis altae
> fundamenta locas?"
>
> (4. 265–266)

A girl alone in a forest should not accost a couple of strange men; but Venus, posing as a pretty young huntress, hails the Trojans with disarming informality:

> ac prior "heus,"[9] inquit, "iuuenes!"
>
> (1. 321)

Venus preserves this air of youthful nonchalance by beginning and ending her narrative speech with half-lines (1. 335 and 370). Again, in a time of relaxation, at the games, Nisus makes an eager plea for his prize:

> hic Nisus "si tanta" inquit "sunt praemia uictis. . . ."
>
> (5. 353)

A commander giving orders to his men will sometimes begin in mid-line because he is assured and easy. So, to the formal address of Palinurus beginning "magnanime Aenea" (5. 17), the reply comes lightly:

> tum pius Aeneas: "equidem sic poscere uentos. . . ."
>
> (5. 26)

In the underworld, too, Aeneas speaks informally to Palinurus:

> sic prior adloquitur: "quis te, Palinure . . .?"
>
> (6. 341)

By contrast, his address to his comrade and kinsman Deiphobus begins with dignified formality:

> "Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri."
>
> (6. 500)

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[8] *Continuo* introduces a speech only here and in 7. 68 and 7. 120, on which see p. 199.

[9] *Heus* occurs in the *Aeneid* only here and in a boyish exclamation of Iulus (7. 116).

During the Sicilian games, all Aeneas's formal proclamations and commands begin at the opening of the verse: "Dardanidae magni" (5. 45); "accipite haec animis" (5. 304); "nunc, si cui uirtus" (5. 363); "sume, pater" (5. 533); "uade age et Ascanio" (5. 548); and so does his grave intervention to save Dares' life in the boxing-match (5. 465). But when he settles the argument over the foot-race he is genial, and the rhythm of his speech is informal:

> tum pater Aeneas "uestra" inquit "munera uobis
> certa manent."
>
> (5. 348–349)

Addressing a hastily collected group of fighters during the final defense of Troy, Aeneas starts rapidly:

> incipio super his: "iuuenes. . . ."
>
> (2. 348)

But when he is at the head of a regular army, his speech is more decisive and opens with greater force and symmetry:

> "maxima res effecta, uiri."
>
> (11. 14)

> "ne qua meis esto dictis mora!"
>
> (12. 565)

A subtle contrast of rhythms appears in the conversation of the two adversaries, haughty Juno and suave Venus (4. 90–128). Juno's speeches both start with clear sharp emphasis at the opening of the hexameter: "egregiam uero laudem" (4. 93), "mecum erit iste labor" (4. 115); the first ends with the end of the line (4. 104), the second more brusquely at the caesura ("hic hymenaeus erit," 4. 127). But Venus, declaring that it would be madness to refuse or resist Juno, begins her reply at an unemphatic place near the end of the line:

> sic contra est ingressa Venus: "quis talia demens
> abnuat?"
>
> (4. 107–108)

and closes it lightly almost at the beginning of the verse:

> "perge, sequar."
>
> (4. 114)

Once Juno makes a speech where neither the opening nor the close coincides with the metrical pattern: when she is hastily dismissing

Allecto (7. 552–560): contrast the formality of Allecto's address to her (7. 545–551). So also the last challenge of Mezentius to Aeneas begins and ends asymmetrically (10. 878–882), unlike the careful regularity of his dying plea (10. 900–906). A speaker who despises his hearer will sometimes begin thus irregularly. Because it is a solemn declaration, Priam's curse on Pyrrhus starts symmetrically, at the opening of the verse:

<div style="text-align:center">

"at tibi pro scelere," exclamat.

(2. 535)
</div>

But the reply is curt, contemptuous, and off-hand:

<div style="text-align:center">

cui Pyrrhus, "referes ergo haec. . . ."

(2. 547)
</div>

There can scarcely be any doubt that Vergil makes these varying rhythmical effects deliberately. At one point he even pads out an introductory phrase in order to make a derisive answer to a formal speech begin in mid-line. Allecto has addressed Turnus seriously, *his cum uocibus*:

<div style="text-align:center">

"Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores?"

(7. 421)
</div>

But his response is so described:

<div style="text-align:center">

hic iuuenis uatem inridens *sic orsa uicissim*
ore refert: "classis inuectas Thybridis undam. . . ."

(7. 435–436)
</div>

At times Vergil's characters begin speeches in the middle of a line when their utterance is rapid and abrupt, prompted by an unexpected and important occurrence. Such is the call of Anchises:

<div style="text-align:center">

prospiciens, "nate," exclamat, "fuge, nate, propinquant!"

(2. 733)
</div>

Hecuba cries out at the sight of old Priam wearing armor:

<div style="text-align:center">

ut uidit, "quae mens tam dira. . .?"

(2. 519)
</div>

Pallas jumps up to challenge a strange squadron of ships:

<div style="text-align:center">

et procul e tumulo, "iuuenes, . . ."

(8. 112)
</div>

Omens are interpreted without delay:

> et pater Anchises, "bellum, o terra hospita, portas."
>
> (3. 539)

> continuo uates "externum cernimus" inquit
> "aduentare uirum."
>
> (7. 68–69)

> continuo "salue fatis mihi debita tellus. . . ."
>
> (7. 120)

A danger is identified:

> et pater Anchises, "nimirum hic illa Charybdis."
>
> (3. 558)

Aeneas's enquiry about the uncanny spectacle of the souls waiting for reincarnation is quickly answered, before the formal exposition which is to follow.

> tum pater Anchises: "animae, quibus altera fato
> corpora debentur. . . ."
>
> (6. 713–714)

The sudden disappearance of his father's spirit startles and distresses Aeneas:

> Aeneas "quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?" inquit.
>
> (5. 741)

Brief utterances in the heat of battle have the speed of violent combat:

> increpat his uictor: "nostrasne euadere, demens,
> sperasti te posse manus?"
>
> (9. 560–561)

One of these shows Vergil padding the line, apparently in order to make the speech start more abruptly:

> aduolat Aeneas uaginaque eripit ensem
> *et super haec*: "ubi nunc Mezentius acer?"
>
> (10. 896–897)

Brusquely the hero interrupts the plea of a man who has taunted him:

> pluribus oranti Aeneas: "haud talia dudum
> dicta dabas: morere."
>
> (10.599–600)

The most impressive of these openings within the line accompany the arrival of the chthonic powers:

> aduentante dea. "procul, o procul este, profani!"
>
> $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ (6. 258)

and the miraculous appearance of Aeneas from the cloud:

> cum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente
> improuisus ait: "coram, quem quaeritis, adsum."
>
> $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ (1. 594–595)

ENDINGS WITHIN THE LINE

At least eight speeches in the *Aeneid* were apparently left unfinished at the poet's death: for eight terminate in a line which is metrically incomplete. These are the utterances which end at 2. 720 (Aeneas to his family), 4. 361 (Aeneas to Dido), 5. 815 (Neptune to Venus), 7. 248 (Ilioneus to Latinus), 7. 455 (Allecto to Turnus), 10. 284 (Turnus at the beachhead), 10. 876 (Aeneas to Mezentius), and 11. 375 (Drances' oration). In making up his statistics Kvíčala (see above, p. 189) counts these among the speeches whose endings do not coincide with the end of a line, because "man kann sich leicht überzeugen, dass an allen diesen 8 Stellen der Schluss der Rede in natürlicher Weise erfolgt und dass man gar nichts mehr erwartet" (p. 272 note). That is, he believes that Vergil would not have filled out these incomplete lines, but would have left them as they stand in the manuscripts. This raises two different but interconnected questions.

The first is the general question of the metrically imperfect lines throughout the *Aeneid*.[10] Some scholars have suggested that Vergil did not intend to complete these lines, or at least that he would have completed only the lines in which both metre and sense are crippled, such as 3. 340. There are fifty-eight incomplete lines in all.[11] Some of them are effective enough just as they stand: e.g. 4. 361 (closing Aeneas's speech to Dido) and 7. 455 (ending Allecto's speech to Turnus and answering his gibe in 7. 444); although this is not to say that it would have been impossible for Vergil to improve them. But many of them are flat, weak, and jejune compared with the normal hexameters that

[10] See J. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931); A. S. Pease, *Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935) pp. 123–124; R. G. Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Oxford, 1955) pp. 36–37; K. Büchner in *RE* VIII A, 2, cols. 1425–1426; G. E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's "Aeneid"* (Ann Arbor, 1962) pp. 77–80 and Tables X and XI.

[11] Some follow Brunck in cutting out *non uiribus aequis* from 12. 218 and counting it as an incomplete line; but look at the MS authority, even to M's corruption *equis*.

surround them. Isolated within the rich texture of Vergil's regular lines, such phrases as *hic cursus fuit* (1. 534), *stant circum* (2. 767), *ergo iussa parat* (4. 503), *Nisus et Euryalus primi* (5. 294), *tertius Euryalus* (5. 322) and *Euryali et Nisi* (9. 467) look as much out of place as holes in the canvas of a Rembrandt.

Of the fifty-eight incomplete lines, twenty-five occur within passages of narrative: most of them at points where the poet seems merely to have broken off, not in order to create any special effect such as dramatic interruption or suspense, but with the idea of continuing and filling out the episode later.[12] (It should be borne in mind that there are also episodes which are manifestly incomplete, although they do not end in a metrically imperfect line. Such is 10. 324-344, which was surely not intended to end with a partial defeat for the Trojan side, Achates wounded and Aeneas doing nothing, but with the killing of the seven brothers who faced Aeneas: cf. 10. 350-352.) Thirty-three appear in contexts of speech-making. Of these seven are in the introductory sentences, immediately before the speakers' first words.[13] It is well-nigh inconceivable that Vergil never intended to round these out into full lines. With the example of Homer's καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα and Ennius's *respondit Iuno Saturnia, sancta dearum* and the like before him, would he have permitted his finished epic to be marred by such inadequacies as *cui Liger* (10. 580) and *Turnus ad haec* (12. 631)? Two incomplete lines, equally weak, are in sentences immediately succeeding the close of speeches.[14]

Sixteen incomplete lines are found within the body of speeches.[15] Eight form the final words of more or less formal speeches.[16] It is noteworthy that no less than nine of these lines in speeches appear at points where a prophecy or a revelation or some reference to the unseen world is being made.[17] Without forcing the point, we may conjecture that Vergil found such passages as that in which Venus reveals to her

[12] The following lines come in Vergil's narrative: 1. 636, 4. 400, 4. 503, 4. 516, 5. 294, 5. 322, 5. 574, 5. 595, 7. 702, 7. 760, 9. 167, 9. 467, 9. 520, 9. 721, 9. 761, and 10. 728. Within Aeneas's narrative (excluding the reported speeches) there are these: 2. 66, 2. 233, 2. 346, 2. 468, 2. 623, 2. 767, 3. 218, 3. 470, and 3. 661. (Lines 2. 66 and 346 are comments addressed to Dido.)

[13] These are 3. 527, 8. 469, 9. 295, 10. 17, 10. 490, 10. 580, and 12. 631.

[14] 1. 560 and 5. 653.

[15] They are 1. 534, 2. 614, 2. 640, 2. 787, 3. 316, 3. 340, 3. 640, 4. 44, 5. 792, 6. 94, 6. 835, 7. 129, 7. 439, 8. 41, 8. 536, and 11. 391.

[16] The eight are 2. 720, 4. 361, 5. 815, 7. 248, 7. 455, 10. 284, 10. 876, and 11. 375.

[17] Namely 2. 614, 2. 787, 5. 815, 6. 94, 6. 835, 7. 129, 7. 455, 8. 41, 8. 536; and perhaps 7. 439 might be added.

son the hostile gods, or that where Anchises appeals to the unborn
souls of Caesar and Pompey, difficult to complete without long medita-
tion.

Most of these incomplete lines, then, look as though they were
provisional and Vergil had intended to complete them. Anyone who
believes he did not must meet several powerful arguments. The first
is that the *Aeneid*, while complete in outline, contains many imperfec-
tions, inconsistencies, doublets, and unfinished scenes, that Vergil
intended to spend three more years revising it, and that an incomplete
verse would surely recommend itself for completion as well as an incom-
plete episode. The second is that we are explicitly informed how Vergil
composed lines which were temporary expedients, intending to im-
prove on them later; and that, when incomplete lines were being read,
he improvised phrases to complete them on the spur of the moment.[18]
He worked by sketching, and later filling in and altering. The third
argument is that no hexameter poet in Greek or Latin ever left a
hexameter line incomplete. Vergil's models did not. Vergil's imitators
did not.[19] Therefore Vergil did not intend to do so in his finished poem.
Modern sculptors (e.g. Maillol) will carve a torso without head or
arms; Japanese artists will leave stretches of bare paper, only here and
there touched with ink, around a detailed drawing; but the Greeks and
Romans did not hold that formal imperfection is aesthetically or emo-
tionally suggestive — particularly in such a majestic work as the epic
poem.

Analyzing the *Aeneid* according to the proportions of the Golden
Section, Duckworth (cited above, n. 10) calculates that in forty-one
passages containing incomplete lines, these proportions will be pre-
served more perfectly if the incomplete lines are considered to be
intentional and permanent, than if it is assumed they were meant to
become full hexameters and should be counted as such. This may
conceivably be true. But is it safe to assume that Vergil, when revising,
would have done nothing to these passages except fill out one hemistich
or a couple of words into one hexameter? Many of them would be
improved or clarified by the addition of more than half a line, and one
or two of them at least demand it: for instance, 6. 835, where *ille* in

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[18] *Vita Donati* (ed. Hardie) §34.
[19] Pease (n. 10 above) mentions some cases in the Vergilian centos, but a
cento is bound by definition to use only the materials provided by its model, and
for the *Aeneid* that includes the incomplete lines. He also cites Claudian,
Carm. Min. 53. 128, i.e. the *Gigantomachia*, which is clearly an unfinished
fragment.

836 is unintelligible without a passage of transition from Caesar and Pompey to Mummius (836–837) and other earlier heroes. Therefore, when finishing his poem Vergil may well have intended to add something more than a few words to such passages. And further, if he did wish (as Duckworth argues) to preserve the Golden Section ratios in adjoining groups of lines, then surely he could do so by adding other material elsewhere — as a painter balances a freshly added touch of color on one part of his canvas by a darker patch in another area. To compare the two versions of Palinurus's death (5. 835–861 and 6. 347–362) is to realize how broadly Vergil remodeled parts of his work with which, on reflection, he became dissatisfied. Some readers, impressed by the calculation which gives less than two lines a day as his total output while he composed the *Georgics*, have concluded that he was a slow worker. On the contrary, it appears that he composed rapidly and freely, but spent the greater part of his effort on revising and improving his early drafts, stage by slow stage. He even made jokes about his method, jokes which implied that the early drafts were not to be compared to the final version: they were amorphous embryos which had to be licked into shape as a bear forms her cubs, and they were scaffolding, cheap timber props put up to be torn down after the marble columns and the panelled roof had been set in place.[20] Therefore it would be erroneous to believe that, when Vergil left an incomplete line in his poem, he intended ultimately to do no more with it than, by adding a few words, to convert it into one single hexameter. This was not his view of poetic composition. He might well reduce a draft of fifty lines to twelve; he could equally well knock down a scaffolding of one and a half lines and replace it by an elaborate structure occupying ten or twenty or more.

The second question suggested by Kvíčala's analysis of the eight speeches which end in an incomplete line (see p. 200 above) is smaller and easier to solve. Kvíčala asserts that each of the speeches is finished as it stands, "und dass man gar nichts mehr erwartet." This implies that Vergil did not intend to write any more words for the speaker in each case, but meant either to leave the last line of the speech incomplete, or to add some words of *narrative* to fill it out. Against the former supposition some arguments have been given above (pp. 201–202). Against the latter, it is notable that in every one of these speeches the incomplete last line is followed by a complete line of narrative which sums up the effect of the speech, and which begins at the first word of the line: *haec fatus* (2. 721), *talia dicentem* (4. 362), *his . . . dictis*

[20] *Vita Donati* (ed. Hardie) §§22–24.

(5. 816), *talibus . . . dictis* (7. 249 and 11. 376), *sic effata* (7. 456),
haec ait (10. 285), and *tantum effatus* (10. 877). These resumptive
formulae are like Homer's ὣc ἄρα φωνήcαcα and ἡ μὲν ἄρ᾽ ὣc εἰποῦcα
and nearly all appear elsewhere in Vergil: *haec fatus* (5. 421), *his . . .*
dictis (1. 579), *talibus . . . dictis* (6. 98), *sic effata* (4. 30), *haec ait* (1. 297),
tantum effatus (6. 547). Apparently, therefore, Vergil would have com-
pleted the last part of the speech in each of these cases, and then
resumed the narrative.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

Not many of the complete speeches in the poem come to an abrupt
end before the finish of the metrical line. Vergil knows the value of
closing an important utterance with a powerful expression of feeling
(4. 387, 4. 628–629, 10. 94–95, 11. 180–181) or a memorable *epiphonema*
(11. 293).

When a speech does break off within the verse, it sometimes means
that the speaker is overcome by emotion and can say no more. After a
magnificent exposition of eschatology and prophecy, Anchises bursts
into tears at the sight of the doomed Marcellus, and his speech trails off
into silence like the incomplete life of a hero dying young:

> date . . .
> his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
> munere.
>
> (6. 883–886)

In the same falling rhythm (ending with a dactylic word in the first foot)
Evander says farewell to his son, and then swoons:

> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam, . . .
> grauior neu nuntius auris
> uulneret.
>
> (8. 579 + 582–583)

The plea of Latinus to Turnus closes with a reference to Turnus's aged
father, and similarly ends with a dying fall, a one-word initial dactyl —
here followed by a molossus as hard as Turnus's will.

> "miserere parentis
> longaeui, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe
> diuidit." *haudquaquam* dictis uiolentia Turni
> flectitur.
>
> (12. 43–46)

Camilla's last words are an urgent strategic message, and a farewell interrupted by death.

> "succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
> iamque uale." simul his dictis linquebat habenas.
>   (11. 826–827)

Latinus, having lost authority over his people, has no strength to finish his speech with a complete verse.

> "funere felici spolior." nec plura locutus. . . .
>   (7. 599)

The long and carefully ordered address of Venus to Jove at the council ends unexpectedly within the line. It is natural to suppose that — unless she is interrupted by Juno, who begins her rebuttal within the verse (p. 194 above) — she breaks down into tears, real or feigned, at the ghastly idea of repeating the Trojan war.

> "iterumque reuoluere casus
> da, pater, Iliacos Teucris."
>   (10. 61–62)

More poignantly, Andromache, after gazing at the Trojan warrior who looks like a ghost returned from the tomb, asks why it is not her lost husband, and bursts into frantic sobs.

> "Hector ubi est?" dixit, lacrimasque effudit.
>   (3. 312)

*   *   *

Some serious speeches end in mid-line to show that they are followed by a meaningful pause. The unexpected but impressive close of the Sibyl's instructions to Aeneas reflects both her authority and her reticence.

> "sic demum lucos Stygis et regna inuia uiuis
> aspicies." dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.
>   (6. 154–155)

The same solemn emphasis appears in Aeneas's request.

> "ipsa canas oro." finem dedit ore loquendi.
>   (6. 76)

This is succeeded by a long interval without speech, during which the Sibyl struggles with the god. The most impressive of such rhythmical

effects are the two commands uttered by the supreme deity, one ending at the strong caesura in the third foot and followed by a solemn oath ("fata uiam inuenient," 10. 113), the other concluding in the fourth foot with a powerful verb ("ulterius temptare ueto," 12. 806) and followed by Juno's submissive silence.

* * *

Such speeches seldom have replies.[21] Others, which also end within the verse, do so because they are interrupted. Most dramatic of all are the epiphanies of Mercury to Aeneas. His first closes in an emphatic molossus, followed *medio sermone* by a rapid disappearance.

> "spes heredis Iuli
> respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
> debetur." tali Cyllenius ore locutus. . . .
> (4. 274–276)

The second, more urgent, ends with a dactylic word and an instantaneous vanishing.

> "uarium et mutabile semper
> femina." sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.[22]
> (4. 569–570)

The first speech of Aeneas to his mother is rather too full of self-pity: he describes himself both as *notus* and as *ignotus*. She cuts him off briskly part-way through the hexameter.

> "Europa atque Asia pulsus." nec plura querentem
> passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est.
> (1. 385–386)

* * *

Most of the speeches ending before the close of the metrical line pass straight into action. This is one of Vergil's innovations, in which he went far beyond his Homeric model. Even in the utmost excitement Homer never interweaves words and actions as Vergil does. In *Iliad* 12 the Trojans are attacking the wall of the Greek camp. The battle is

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[21] Small speeches which end within the verse and are followed by a pause or silence are: a false oracle (2. 119), a command which is not obeyed (5. 164), a plea which is not granted (5. 385), and an unanswered challenge (9. 377).

[22] The elision of a monosyllabic pronoun, *se*, is unusual, and images the disappearance of the god. Vergil could have written a line which avoided this effect: *sic fatus se nocti immiscuit atrae.*

evenly divided. Hector cries, "Once more unto the breach," and, while his men climb the wall, bursts the gate open with a huge stone. Yet even in such a crisis, his speech embraces four evenly constructed lines, one introductory and one describing its effect, with the traditional expansiveness of oral poetry: ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες, θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ, and οὔασι πάντες ἄκουον (*Il.* 12. 439–442). Even in the most furious mêlée Homeric speeches are formal, leisurely, and complete in shape: e.g. *Il.* 16. 462–632 and 21. 34–199, *Od.* 22. 241–325. But Vergil writes more like a dramatist. At the end of Shakespeare's tragedy, Othello makes a calm speech directing the envoys of the Venetian republic how to describe his untimely end. Once, he adds, when he saw a Turk assaulting a Venetian,

> I took by the throat the circumcised dog
> And smote him thus. . . .

The remainder of the line is not spoken, but is occupied by the gesture as Othello stabs himself. So in the *Aeneid* many a half-line of speech is succeeded by a half-line beginning a description of rapid action.

One of the most remarkable is Aeneas's speedy departure from Carthage, when he cuts the cable.

> "adsis o placidusque iuues et sidera caelo
> dextra feras." dixit, uaginaque eripit ensem
> fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.[23]
>
> (4. 578–580)

When the Trojan women set fire to the ships, Ascanius gallops down to stop them. Because they would not recognize him in the masking "Corinthian" helmet, he pulls it off and names himself. The line is hurrièd, asyndetic, broken in the second foot.

> "en, ego uester
> Ascanius!" galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem.[24]
>
> (5. 672–673)

Seizing the tactical initiative at the news of Aeneas's advance, Turnus leaves the council.

> "illi armis in regna ruunt." nec plura locutus
> corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis.
>
> (11. 461–462)

[23] Other such rapidly concluded orders appear in 3. 266 (Anchises casting off from the Strophades), 5. 14 (Palinurus furling sail), and 5. 197 (Mnestheus to his crew).

[24] The unusual ending with two disyllables and a jolting rhythm, *én égo uéster*, is exceptionally emphatic.

Aeneas orders a beaten boxer to stop fighting at once.

> "cede deo." dixitque et proelia uoce diremit.[25]
>
> (5.467)

Challenges of rival fighters, shouts of victory, military commands —
these are often broken off within the first part of the line. Thus, the
attack is mounted on the Trojan camp.

> "hostis adest, heia!"[26] ingenti clamore per omnis
> condunt se Teucri portas.
>
> (9. 38–39)

A moment later Turnus passes almost instantaneously from speech to
action.

> "ecquis erit mecum, iuuenes, qui primus in hostem—?
> en!" ait et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras.
>
> (9. 51–52)

It is with two words cut off at the beginning of the hexameter that
Mezentius rises to face Aeneas (10. 856) and hurls a sharp gift at him
(10. 882). With two initial words Pallas challenges Turnus, "tolle
minas!" (10. 451). The same abrupt phrasing shows how Pyrrhus
seizes Priam for slaughter, "nunc morere," (2. 550), Mezentius pulls
his lance out of a victim's body (10. 744) and hurls a spear (10. 776).[27]

The same rapid transition from speech to narrative can also describe
a surge of affection. So Vulcan, warmed by Venus's caress, grants her
request and turns to embrace her.

> "absiste precando
> uiribus indubitare tuis." ea uerba locutus
> optatos dedit amplexus.
>
> (8. 403–405)

---

[25] In classical Latin it is unusual to couple *-que* and *et*. The tight linkage
suggests that Aeneas's order and his movement of intervention were almost
simultaneous. Horace has *teque et tua solus amares* (*A. P.* 444). Szantyr, *Lat.
Grammatik* (Munich, 1965) §283b, calls this an archaism, suited only for the
grand style; but at least in these two cases it sounds light and speedy rather than
archaic and dignified.

[26] Because Caicus's warning call is immediately answered by his comrades'
shouts, the second syllable of *heia* is elided and "drowned" by the first syllable
of *ingenti*: so closely does speech merge into narrative. Partly similar is the effect
in 3. 523, where the last syllable of *Italiam* in Aeneas's narrative is drowned by
the shout of Achates.

[27] Other truncated pugnacious phrases appear in 9. 221, 9. 423, 10. 298,
10. 335, 10. 495, 10. 583. Book Ten, full of fighting, has many such effects.

(But next morning he sets the Cyclopes to work:

> "praecipitate moras!" nec plura effatus. . . .
>
> (8. 443)

So Hecuba to her old husband:

> "aut moriere simul." sic ore effata recepit.
>
> (2. 524)

Anna to Dido's attendants:

> "extremus si quis super halitus errat,
> ore legam." sic fata gradus euaserat altos.
>
> (4. 684–685)

Aeneas to Lausus:

> "Aeneae magni dextra cadis." increpat ultro
> cunctantes socios et terra subleuat ipsum.
>
> (10. 830–831)

Similarly Apollo breaks his speeches praising Ascanius in order to glide down from heaven (9. 644) and to return (9. 656); Aeneas turns away from the corpse of Pallas (11. 98–99); after a divine visitation, Aeneas halts (6. 197) and Turnus prays (9. 22).

* * *

Metrical Patterns and their Significance

Vergil's sense of the power of verse-rhythm to convey physical and psychical movement was so subtle that he differentiated the metrical patterns of brief phrases spoken at the openings and endings of lines. When a speech closes at the penthemimeral caesura, it is usually firm and decisive: "aut moriere simul" (2. 524), "hic hymenaeus erit" (4. 127), "praecipitate moras!" (8. 443), "aeternumque uale" (11. 98).[28] A speech which begins at this caesura is often resolute, while less formal and more apparently spontaneous than a speech commencing at the regular place, the beginning of the hexameter. The first speeches of Evander to Aeneas start in this way.

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[28] Such are the exhortation of Coroebus (2. 391), the claim of Dares (5. 385), the promises of Ascanius (9. 280) and the plea of Euryalus (9. 292), Aeneas's fierce order (10. 335), Opis's vow of vengeance (11. 849), and Juno's instructions to Juturna (12. 159).

> tum sic pauca refert: "ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
> accipio agnoscoque libens!"
>
> $\qquad$ (8. 154–155)
>
> rex Euandrus ait: "non haec sollemnia nobis. . . ."
>
> $\qquad$ (8. 185)

In five balanced lines the Sibyl rebukes Aeneas for tarrying. Deiphobus (whom she ignores) interposes:

> Deiphobus contra "ne saeui, magna sacerdos." $\qquad$ (6. 544)[29]

Many speeches beginning later in the line, at the hephthemimeral caesura, are unexpected outcries or intrusions: Dido's outburst (4. 590), the alert given by the sea-nymph (10. 228), the intervention of Juturna (12. 625). It is not easy, however, to find a single description of the speeches which *close* at the hephthemimeral caesura. Some certainly move directly into action: 1. 610, 5. 14, 5. 400, 10. 298, and Turnus's exit speech in 11. 461. Others, again, are thoughtful utterances apparently succeeded by a pause for reflection: e.g. the Sibyl's in 6. 53 and the soothsayer's in 8. 503.

Most speeches starting in the second foot of the line, at the trihemimeral caesura, are excited: Juno's vengeful meditation (1. 37), Hecuba's plea (2. 519), Aeneas's greeting to his father (6. 695) and his recognition of the omen of the tables (7. 120), Mnestheus's rallying cry (9. 781), the defiance of Mezentius (10. 878), the adulation of Drances, "o fama ingens," (11. 124), and the last shout of Aeneas, *ira / terribilis* (12. 947).[30]

A speech which ends within the second foot of the line is usually abrupt, eager, or disturbed: for example, Andromache's cry "Hector ubi est?" (3. 312), the rebuke of Mercury (4. 276), Aeneas's order to stop the fist-fight (5. 467), the shout of Ascanius (5. 673), the Sibyl's display of the golden bough to Charon (6. 407), Juno's dismissal of Allecto (7. 560), and the bellicose prayer of Mezentius (10. 776).[31] It is not difficult to distinguish the tempo of a speech which ends on the *first* syllable of the second foot ("diua parens," 6. 197, followed by an anxious pause) from that of a speech ending on the *second* syllable of the

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[29] So also 1. 595, 5. 189, 9. 234, 10. 739.

[30] Similarly 2. 733, 8. 532, 9. 737, 12. 95. In 8. 293 the Salii pass from reported speech to direct invocation of the god; the heightened exaltation of their tone may be reflected in the fact that the song is first directly heard in the second foot of the line.

[31] But the Sibyl's speech about the ritual of entrance into the other world, although it ends in the second foot ('aspicies,' 6. 155), is not hasty: it is followed by a somber silence. So too the wounded Mezentius's words in 10. 856.

same foot with a trochaic fall ("acceleremus!" 9. 221, followed by
uigiles simul excitat). Still more abrupt utterances run into the second
foot of the line in such a way that their final syllables are elided into the
first word of the narrative, giving an impression of impetuous haste.

"nunc morere." hoc dicens. . . .

(2. 550)

"haud illi stabunt Aeneia paruo
hospitia." et laeuo pressit pede talia fatus. . . .

(10. 494–495)

One excited speech starts part-way through the first foot of the line:
Amata, waving a blazing torch, *clamat* "io matres" (7. 400). And in
several striking speeches the last word coincides with the dactylic first
foot of the verse: Mercury vanishes (4. 570), Anchises mourns (6. 886),
Evander faints (8. 583), Mezentius kills an enemy (10. 744), and Latinus
begs Turnus to pity his old father (12. 45). Two speeches actually end
on the first syllable of the first foot: Turnus's war-cry, "en!" (9. 52),
and Aeneas's command at the games, "dic" (5. 551). The brusqueness
of this latter is doubtless intended to resemble the firm authority of a
Roman paterfamilias: perhaps also to contrast with the garrulity of a
Homeric father on a similar occasion (Nestor to Antilochus, *Il.* 23.
306–348).

The fifth and sixth feet of the hexameter line are very emphatic. The
first words of two peremptory utterances by superhuman beings at
critical moments occupy that position at 4. 702 (Iris) and 6. 45 (the
Sibyl).

The pause after a dactylic fourth foot, the "bucolic diaeresis," is
avoided in Latin heroic poetry, apparently because its associations are
either playful or affectionate.[32] Only a few speeches in the *Aeneid* break
off here: for instance, Iulus's joke, "we are eating our tables" (7. 116),
two kindly speeches by Aeneas to young Lausus (10. 812 and 10. 830),
an offhand jest (10. 594), and the summons of Cybele to the ships as they
are transformed into nymphs (9. 117):

uos ite solutae,
ite deae pelagi: genetrix iubet.

Here, not too distantly, we can hear an echo of the last line of Vergil's

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[32] There is a good discussion by R. Lucot, "Ponctuation bucolique, accent et
émotion dans l' *Énéide*", *REL* 43 (1965) 261–274.

last bucolic poem. As the mother Cybele speaks to her flock, so speaks the poet-herdsman:

> ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae.

Even within these patterns there are further subtleties. Two speeches may both open at exactly the same spot in the line, and yet have different initial emphasis. In 4. 333 Aeneas addresses Dido, beginning at the penthemimeral caesura, and in 6. 341 he addresses Palinurus, beginning at the same place. In both speeches the second word is *te*. Yet the slow gravity of the question to Palinurus, "quīs tē," makes a marked contrast with the rhythm of his exordium to Dido, "ĕgŏ tē." The latter is lighter and quicker, and seems to convey something of his embarrassment — the same feeling which is expressed in the quick pace and double elisions of his later phrase (4. 337):

> pro re pauca loquar. nĕqu' ĕg' hanc abscondere furto. . . .

Aeneas addresses Palinurus only twice, starting both times at the same place in the line; but the latter address, in the underworld (6. 341), has the slow pace of "quīs tē," while the former (5. 26) is carefree and informal, "ĕquĭdēm sīc."[33] Of Juno's two submissive speeches to Jupiter, both begin in mid-line with "quid?" Yet the first (10. 611) is light:

> cui Iuno summissa "quĭd, ō . . .?"[34]

The second (10. 628), opening one syllable earlier in the line, is slow and plaintive:

> et Iuno adlacrimans "quīd sī . . .?"

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

NARRATIVE WORDS WITHIN SPEECHES

Hitherto we have been discussing Vergil's techniques of knitting speech and narrative together by moving from one to the other within a line: something eschewed by the Greek epic poets. He goes further than

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[33] *Equidem* begins an informal reply once again, in 9. 207, and it opens Turnus's humble plea in 12. 931.

[34] Notice in the following line (10. 612) the light rhythm and the alliteration on T, evoking timidity.

this. He interweaves speech and narrative by inserting narrative words within his speeches. Certain aspects of this device have been examined by J. R. Gjerløw in the article cited in n. 2 above, to which many of the following remarks are indebted. He gives figures for the relative frequencies of *ait, inquit,* and *fatur: quae in uulgus edita eius uerbis inuertere supersedeo.*

Again it apparently was Ennius who introduced the device, although we have only one small fragment to guarantee this (*Ann.* 360–361):

> "malo cruce," fatur, "uti des,
> Iuppiter!"

Lucretius once inserts *aiunt* into a speech (3. 898), but Catullus never permits a verb of speaking to intrude within a speech in his hexameter poems.[35] Vergil, however, is flexible and free.

His simplest method is to introduce a word of speaking such as *ait* or *inquit* between words of a continuous speech. The verb alone may be inserted:

> "cur" inquit "diuersus abis?"
>> (11. 855)

The speaker's name may be added to the verb:

> "non lacrimis hoc tempus," ait Saturnia Iuno,
> "accelera!"
>> (12. 156–157)

The verb and the name or description may be separated so as to enclose some spoken words:

> et Mnestheus "quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?" inquit.
>> (9. 781)[36]

Or, to add emphasis, Vergil sometimes uses two verbs of speaking:

> lacrimis ita fatur obortis:
> "tene," inquit, "miserande puer. . . ."
>> (11. 41–42)[37]

A description of the speaker's manner, combined with a verb of speaking to enclose words of speech, makes a lively effect:

> constitit et lacrimans, "quis iam locus," inquit, "Achate . . .?"
>> (1. 459)

[35] But note in his galliambics "*agedum*," *inquit*, "*age ferox i*' (63.78).
[36] So also 5. 353, 5. 741, 6. 45–46, 7. 68, 12. 776–777.
[37] Again in 5. 547–551.

"immo," ait, "o ciues," arrepto tempore Turnus. . . .
                                                  (11. 459)[38]
Occasionally a new verb of speaking may be added, when the speaker
passes from one theme to another.[39]

> sic incipiens hortatur ouantis:
> "maxima res effecta, uiri. . . .
> ite," ait, "egregias animas . . . / decorate supremis
> muneribus."
>   (11. 13–14 + 24–26)

Words more emphatic than *ait* or *inquit* are sometimes thus inserted:
exclamat (2. 535 and 733), *conclamat* (6. 259, 12. 426).

Now and then Vergil starts a speech by naming or describing the
speaker, but omits the verb of speaking: this produces the effect of
spontaneous candor or rapid reply.

> tum Venus "haud equidem tali me dignor honore."
>   (1. 335)[40]

Or again, he will give the speaker's name and simply add a participle
describing his demeanor:

> olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus. . . .
>   (9. 740)[41]

In one or two passages a speech begins thus abruptly, but is announced
by a word of preparation. Aeneas's supplication to Apollo in 3. 85 is
prefaced by the word *uenerabar*, which, although not a verb of speaking,
implies a spoken prayer; and his epitaph on Palinurus (5. 870) is a little
apostrophe which he utters *multa gemens*.

Sometimes, again, a speech opens without a word to distinguish it
from the narrative, but is set off at its close by a verb of speaking.
Creusa's desperate gesture passes straight into her plea (2. 674–765):

> paruumque patri tendebat Iulum.
> "si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum!"

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[38] Cf. 2. 386–387, 5. 473–474, 6. 317–318, 8. 112–113, 10. 490–491, 12. 258–
259, 12. 930–931.

[39] So Gjerløw (n. 2 above) p. 50, citing and correcting Loesch (see p. 192)
p. 17f. Cf. 3. 480 and 5. 551. Gjerløw points out that *ait* is often the word that
accompanies an imperative in the *Aeneid*, and proposes that *ait* in 5. 551 (which
is pleonastic) may have been suggested by the imperative *dic*.

[40] So 1. 730, 2. 41–42, 2. 547, 2. 674, 6. 695, 9. 234, 9. 246, 10. 896–897,
10. 898, 12. 631.

[41] Cf. 1. 370–371, 10. 611, 10. 628, 10. 742.

But at the end we hear her screaming, *talia uociferans*. Dido's message sent to Aeneas through Anna has no word of introduction, but is closed by *talibus orabat* (4. 437). Three of Aeneas's own speeches in his account of the fall of Troy begin abruptly because of his excitement, but close with words such as *fatus eram* (2. 323, 2. 588, 2. 721). Three speeches by his enemies follow the same pattern: Turnus (10. 279[42] and 12. 676) and Camilla (11. 715).

In a few passages of strong emotion Vergil moves from narrative to speech without any words whatever to show that a speech has begun or ended. Describing a crisis in his escape from Troy, Aeneas passes from his story to an evocation of his thoughts, and then to his actual words, which stand alone just as he recalled them years afterwards.

> rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto:
> nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?
> "mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
> sperasti?"
>
> $\qquad$ (2. 655–658)

So also when he is terrified by the noise of hell (6. 560–561), when he hears of the strange system of reincarnation (6. 719–721), and when his heart is moved by the love of father and son (10. 825–830). In these passages his voice bursts right out of the narrative. One other character exclaims with the same urgency: Nisus, realizing that he has lost his friend (9. 390–391).

$\qquad$ * * *

The most sophisticated of all Vergil's techniques of interconnecting speech and narrative is to insert parenthetical "stage-directions." The term comes from Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic* (Baltimore, 1909), who shows on pp. 32–36 that the device was enthusiastically taken over by some of Vergil's successors — most notably the master of parenthesis, Ovid, and also Statius, Valerius Flaccus, and Silius Italicus. Lucan and Claudian, however, virtually eschewed it. Such is the dramatic gesture of the Sibyl confronting Charon:

> "at ramum hunc" (aperit ramum qui ueste latebat)
> "agnoscas."
>
> $\qquad$ (6. 406–407)

The emotional address of Aletes to Nisus and Euryalus is broken in the

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[42] Omitting 10. 278, inserted from 9. 127 by someone who felt the speech started too abruptly.

middle, after his thanksgiving to the gods, by a description of his embrace and of his tears of gratitude (9. 250–251). It is this device which interrupts Dido's last speech, and makes it more dramatic, more human than a formal oration of farewell (4. 659–660).[43]

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

<p style="text-align:center">Phrases Describing Emotion</p>

An epic poet sometimes explains to his hearers or readers the emotions which move his characters to speech. In a long scene, some speeches may be given without any marked emotional emphasis, while others may be strongly passionate; and the changing moods of one or more persons can be indicated by alterations in the phrases introducing the words they say.

Homer prefaces most speeches quite simply, by a formula which names the speaker but carries no emotional charge: τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς or προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς. But some speeches he introduces with a line or a few lines describing a significant mood:

<p style="text-align:center">Ἥρηι δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στῆθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσηύδα</p>

<p style="text-align:right">(Il. 4. 24)</p>

or the actual force of the utterance:

<p style="text-align:center">Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας.   (Il. 17. 183)</p>

The expression of the speaker's face is important: ὑπόδρα ἰδών, μείδησεν, δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων. So is the motive which leads him to address his companion: ἐνένιπεν, νείκεσέ τ' ἄντην, μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυον. A gesture often carries much force. Achilles meeting Hector at last,

<p style="text-align:center">ὡς εἶδ', ὡς ἀνεπᾶλτο—</p>

and then, εὐχόμενος, speaks (Il. 20. 424).

By observing these introductory phrases, a reader may feel the ebb and flow of emotion in Homer. The debate in *Iliad* 1 illustrates this. Achilles opens it by making a calm proposal, introduced with no sign of excitement (1. 58). Calchas accepts the proposal, σφιν ἐϋφρονέων, but asks that his safety be guaranteed (1. 73). Achilles, still calm, does so (1. 84f). Calchas "takes heart" (1. 92) and proposes the return of

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[43] Other examples in 5. 162–168 and 12. 206.

Chryseis to her father. Now Agamemnon rises: he is "vexed," and his anger is described in detail before he speaks (1. 103–105). Although the following exchange between Achilles and Agamemnon contains some harsh words (1. 122, 1. 139), the introductory phrases depict no emotion. But then Achilles at last loses his temper: ὑπόδρα ἰδών (1. 148), he belabors Agamemnon with hard epithets. When Agamemnon replies, Achilles is so furious that he lays his hand on his sword. Even after Athena persuades him not to draw it, he is still in a rage, addresses his opponent ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν (1. 223), and ends by hurling the speakers' sceptre to the ground (1. 245).

To introduce and occasionally to terminate the speeches of his characters, Vergil uses a very wide variety of phrases describing emotion. Such introductory phrases in Homer, Apollonius, Vergil, and others have been studied by Loesch (cited above on p. 192), who analyzes the different types of emotion expressed — e.g. hostility (*inimico pectore fatur*, 10. 556 and 11. 685), entreaty (*supplex*, 1. 64, 4. 205, 9. 624, 10. 523, 12. 930), amazement (*obstipuit*, 1. 613, 8. 121, 9. 197), or terror (*amens formidine*, 12. 776). This, however, is rather a mechanical classification: readers will learn more by examining the varying emotions of individual characters.

When Aeneas and the Trojan refugees come upon Hector's widow, Andromache, in her distant exile, how does she behave?

At first sight of them she goes almost mad with shock. She collapses. She can scarcely speak, and then, after the pathetic plea, "Hector ubi est?", breaks into hysterical weeping:

> lacrimasque effudit et omnem
> impleuit clamore locum.
>
> (3. 306–313)

Later, when Aeneas asks about her life as the concubine of Pyrrhus, she grows calmer:

> deiecit uultum et demissa uoce[44] locuta est.
>
> (3. 320)

She then makes a long speech (3. 321–343) marked both by tearful emotion (321–324) and by careful detail (333–336). Finally, when the Trojans are departing, she shows herself still sad (3. 482) but now capable of speaking with composure (*talia fatur*, 3. 485) as she gives

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[44] *Demissa uoce* does not occur elsewhere in the *Aeneid. Deiecit uultum* resembles Dido's diffidence before the Trojan envoys (*uultum demissa*, 1. 561), the melancholy of young Marcellus (*deiecto uultu*, 6. 862), and the depression of Lavinia (*oculos deiecta*, 11. 480) and of Turnus (*demisso lumine*, 12. 220).

Ascanius farewell gifts. So, too, her husband Helenus weeps at the first meeting (3. 348) but is more controlled thereafter. His prophecy is prefaced by *canit* (3. 373), and in saying good-bye he addresses Anchises *multo honore* (3. 474 + 480) in terms of calm confidence.

The Sibyl is a strange being, unlike any other in the poem. Supernaturally old and wise, she speaks with curt authority, *breuiter*,[45] or else without a hint of feeling: *fatur* (6. 36, cf. 6. 666), *coepit* (6. 372), *ait* (6. 630). The emphatic and unusual phrase *orsa loqui* is applied to her twice: once at 6. 125, when she begins to describe the ritual for entry into the other world, and once at 6. 562, introducing her portentous description of hell.[46] Emotional changes appear in her, as indicated by the phrases introducing her words, only when she becomes a vehicle for the god (6. 46–51 + 77–80 + 98–101) and when she plunges *furens* into the caverns of Avernus (6.259, 262).

Nisus and Euryalus are sometimes conceived as impetuous youngsters who rashly undertake a mission far beyond their powers. Vergil does not convey this impression by his method of describing their talk. Although Nisus is called *ardens* (9. 198)[47] and although he speaks quickly, almost all his speeches are prefaced by neutral phrases free from excitement, such as *ait* (9. 184), *ad haec* (9. 207), *tum sic* (9. 234), *sic ore locutus* (9. 319), and *breuiter . . . ait* (9. 353–355).[48] Excitement is first shown in him by the sudden cry of 9. 390-391; at the end he breaks when, *exterritus amens* (9. 424), he sees his friend facing the fierce slayer. At this point he suffers anguish comparable to that of the deserted Dido. She says "hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem" (4. 419), and Vergil says of Nisus *nec . . . tantum potuit perferre dolorem* (9. 425–426).

The narrative of Sinon is skilfully punctuated by phrases which reveal it (as recounted by Aeneas) to be a lie. He first speaks *turbatus* (2. 67) with a groan of apparently real and certainly effective despair (2. 73). A little later his fear is described as a sham: *pauitans . . . ficto pectore fatur* (2. 107), although he pretends to weep (2. 145 + 196).[49]

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[45] *Breuiter* is used thrice of the Sibyl (6. 321, 398, 538); twice of Dido (1. 561, 4. 632); once each of Nisus (9. 353), Aeneas (10. 251), and Jupiter (10. 621).

[46] *Orsa* with *loqui* only of the Sibyl; *orsus* alone, of Aeneas (1. 325 and 2.2), Apollo (9. 656), and Jupiter (12. 806). *Orsa refert* of Turnus (7. 435–436) and Drances (11. 124).

[47] *Ardens* is also applied to Iulus (9. 652) and Aeneas (10. 514) among others.

[48] Likewise Euryalus, after his first excitement (9. 197), speaks briefly and calmly: *ait* (9. 221), *talia fatur* (9. 280).

[49] Line 2. 76 must be excised: Vergil would not write *deposita formidine* and follow it by *pauitans*. It is in its right place at 3. 612, where it is a desirable relief to Achaemenides' terror in 3. 599 + 607–608.

After his chains are removed he is all fraud, *dolis instructus et arte Pelasga* (2. 152).

Camilla's two boasts in battle are accompanied by warlike gestures (11. 684–685, 11. 718–720). Between her other two speeches there is a touching parallel. Riding up to the gate of the Latin city to meet Turnus (11. 498–501), she dismounts:

> desiluit, quam tota cohors imitata relictis
> ad terram defluxit equis: tum talia fatur.

Later, struck down by Arruns, she utters her last words, *haec ita fatur* (11. 822) and falls from her horse, *ad terram non sponte fluens*. The words *fluo* and *defluo* are not typical formulae for the act of dismounting from horseback: they are rare, and in the *Aeneid* occur only in these two places.[50]

Mezentius is a hard man. His first utterance (10.737) is accompanied by no word of emotion, not even a verb of speech, but a warlike act. He follows it with another such act, *subridens mixta ira* (10. 742–744). Facing Aeneas, he is *imperterritus* (10. 770).[51] For a time his son's death throws him into passionate grief (10. 844–845, cf. 870–871); but he addresses Aeneas without apparent excitement (*dixit*, 10. 882) and in face of death speaks calmly, *haec loquitur* (10. 907).[52]

Pyrrhus son of Achilles rages during the fighting within Troy (*exsultat*, 2. 470; *furentem*, 2. 499). Yet after Priam has thrown a spear at him and insulted him, he addresses the old king with no trace of vengeful fury, but in words curt and cold: *cui Pyrrhus* (2. 547).

The two old Italian kings are not dissimilar in manner. Latinus is tranquil as he receives the Trojan envoys, *placido ore* (7. 194).[53] Evander speaks much in Book Eight, but without any phrase depicting strong emotion: *pauca refert*[54] (8. 154), *ait* (8. 185), *tum rex* (8. 313),

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[50] *Defluo* of dying horsemen in Furius Bibaculus frg. 8 Morel, Livy 2. 20. 3, and Ov. *Met.* 6. 229 (there are also post-classical occurrences); *fluo* only in post-classical imitators of Vergil.

[51] *Imperterritus* was invented by Vergil: "quis ante hunc?" asks Servius auctus.

[52] Contrast Turnus in the same situation, *supplex* (12. 930).

[53] *Placido ore* of Diomede in 11. 251, *placido pectore* of Ilioneus in 1. 521, in both cases during a diplomatic conference.

[54] It is curious that Vergil should use the phrase *pauca refert* here to introduce Evander's reply to Aeneas (8. 154–174), since it is rather a long speech containing some superfluous detail. However, his next speech (8. 185–275) is one of the longest in the poem. Donatus comments *pauca debemus accipere, hoc est pauciora quam dici potuerunt.*

inquit (8. 351, 362), *rex prior haec* (8. 469). Both monarchs, however,
listen to the Trojans with wonder and something like awe. Evander

<div align="center">

os oculosque loquentis
iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
</div>

<div align="right">

(8. 152–153)
</div>

Latinus remains long silent (7. 249–258) before, *laetus*, he speaks. Only
when saying farewell to his son (8. 558–559 + 583–584) and again when
receiving the corpse (11. 148–151) does Evander give way to deep
feeling. Latinus never speaks with such passionate emotion. He
"invokes the gods and empty air" before secluding himself in his
palace (7. 593–600). Later he reappears at the council-meeting, gloomy
(11. 238) but calm enough to pray for guidance and to speak coherently
(11. 301–335). Even confronting the choleric Turnus, he answers
sedato corde (12. 18) and remains regal and self-controlled during the
oath-taking (12. 161–164 + 195–196). His final collapse (12. 609–611)
is wordless.

Certain secondary characters who appear only twice or thrice undergo
extremes of emotion. Anna's first advice to Dido is given with the
colorless word *refert* (4. 31): evidently she is calm, and sure that her
suggestions are prudent. Later, however, she is *miserrima* (4. 437) and
maesta (4. 476). She speaks only once again, and then it is in grief and
remorse, *unguibus ora . . . foedans et pectora pugnis*[55] (4. 672–674 + 685–
687). The fate of Creusa is the reverse of this. She too speaks only twice.
First, wailing and screaming, she clutches Aeneas's feet and holds his
son up before him (2. 673–674 + 679). But later, a serene spirit, she
addresses him with words of love and consolation. The phrase which
precedes her address (2. 775) is tranquil:

<div align="center">

tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis.[56]
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Amata, who speaks thrice, first sheds tears (7. 358), then screams
fiercely (7. 399–400), and at last weeps in suicidal despair, *moritura*
(12. 54–55). Housman thought this a grotesque exaggeration, saying
"*moritura . . .* makes me blush for [Vergil] whenever I think of it."[57]
But it is true to fact: she was determined to commit suicide if Aeneas
won (12. 61–63) and did so.

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[55] The same gesture is recorded of Acoetes bewailing Pallas (11. 86) and
Juturna her brother Turnus (12. 871).

[56] This phrase also introduces the prophetic counsel given to Aeneas by the
moonlit effigies of the Trojan divinities (3. 153) and by the Tiber (8. 35).

[57] *Letters*, ed. H. Maas (London, 1971) p. 423.

Anchises, although initially shown as feeble in body, is strong in mind. At his earliest appearance (2. 634–650) he makes a firm and dignified speech, introduced by *ait* with no emotional concomitant, and terminated by

> talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.

At the omen of Iulus's flaming head he speaks with pious joy (*laetus*, 2. 687). Throughout Book Three his speeches are introduced by no phrase hinting at excitement or feebleness: *ait, sic fatus* (3. 103, 118), *memorat, sic ait* (3. 182, 189), *ait* (3. 539 + 543). His prayers are tranquil (3. 264, 525–527). Even when he hears the roar of the whirlpool he identifies it with no trace of emotion (3. 558). As a ghost visiting the earth to counsel his son, he speaks with his wonted serenity (5. 722–723 + *dixerat*, 740). Even in Elysium his description of the process of transmigration and of the future grandeur of Rome is not accompanied by phrases indicating emotional tension: *tum pater Anchises* (6. 713), *suscipit Anchises* (6. 723), *dixerat Anchises* (6. 752), *sic pater Anchises atque haec mirantibus addit* (6. 854). This is not to say that the great speech itself is passionless. It contains exclamations, "qui iuuenes!" (6. 771), eager imperatives, "aspice" (6. 771 and 855), apostrophes, "quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?" (6. 845), interjections, "en" (6. 781) and "heu" (6. 828), and a constant variety of sentence-structure and metrical arrangement which indicates a lively rise and fall of excitement. But Vergil, through introducing it by simple verbs of speech without emotional modifiers, seems to intend to show that Anchises, now immortal, has the calm intellectual control of a great mind describing a mighty vision. Twice only in Book Six does Vergil make Anchises speak with external indications of deep feeling. When he sees his son coming to find him in Elysium he stretches out his arms,

> effusaeque genis lacrimae et uox excidit ore.[58]   (6. 686)

And when Aeneas asks him about the young soul accompanying the glorious Marcellus,

> tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis. . . .   (6. 867)

But after his mournful tribute, he once again becomes the serene and fatherly teacher: *exim bella uiro memorat quae deinde gerenda* (6. 890).

* * *

[58] The phrase *excidit ore* appears only once more in the *Aeneid* — again of Anchises, although in a very different context (2. 658). The voice of Cybele from heaven is said *excidere* (9. 113).

The gods differ widely in demeanor. Apollo's few speeches are characterized by no strong feeling; Diana in her narrative only by *tristis* (11. 534). Neptune appears twice. Observing the storm raised by Aeolus, he is *grauiter commotus*, although he raises from the water a *placidum caput* (1. 126–127). His rebuke to the winds is introduced by nothing more drastic than *talia fatur* and closed by *sic ait* (1. 131 and 142); yet it contains angry reproaches, a threat, several commands, and the violent aposiopesis "quos ego —!" Vergil therefore presents Neptune as a monarch who controls his anger and wields his vast authority with dignity. His speech to Venus (5. 800–815) is marked by regal condescension and introduced by the lofty phrase

tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti.[59]

Jupiter is always calm. His words may be blunt; but they are accompanied by no display of disquiet or anger, whether he is despatching Mercury to rebuke Aeneas (*sic adloquitur*, 4. 222), opening and closing the debate of the gods (*incipit*, 10. 5; *infit*, 10. 101), or rejecting an impossible request from his own mother (*filius huic contra*, 9. 93). The fact that he seeks out Juno and addresses her *ultro* (10. 606) implies a reproof, and the curt style of his second speech (*breuiter fatur*, 10. 621) reduces her to tears. Both then, however, and in his final interview with her (*adloquitur*, 12. 792; *sic orsus*, 12. 806) he is still tranquil, though firm. His final concession to Juno is made with a smile, which intentionally recalls the reassuring warmth of his first address to Venus (*olli subridens*, 1. 254 and 12. 829).

The soft heart of Venus is easily moved by grief for her son's afflictions. In tears she addresses Jupiter (1. 228), with much anxiety begs Neptune for a safe passage (5. 779–780), and is moved by real fear, *exterrita*, to ask Vulcan for the divine weapons (8. 370–373) — although she does not forget to woo him (8. 387–388 + 393). Yet she speaks to Aeneas himself with no outward show of emotion: *inquit* (1. 321), *tum Venus* (1. 335), *talibus adfata est dictis* (8. 611). With maternal authority she represses his emotional outbreaks in Africa — *nec plura querentem / passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est* (1. 385–386) — and in burning Troy — *dextraque prehensum / continuit* (2. 592–593). In her brief interview with Juno she is diplomatically discreet, *sic contra est ingressa* (4. 107), *non aduersata . . . adnuit* (4. 127–128). Her tactful speech ends with the brief phrase "perge, sequar" (4. 114), which is curiously echoed much later by Juno herself addressing Juturna, "perge,

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[59] Elsewhere in the poem *edere* in this sense is used only of Aeneas's earnest prayer to Jupiter (5. 693) and Latinus's address to the Trojans (7. 194).

decet"[60] (12. 153). Her important oration at the Olympian council is highly emotional in tone. The sentence introducing it (10. 16–17) breaks off in an incomplete line. Vergil might have completed it with a description of her imploring eyes and gestures, comparable with her earlier address to Jupiter in 1. 228. The two speeches begin in almost exactly the same way.

Like Homer's Hera, who laughed with her lips while her forehead above her dark brows was troubled (*Il.* 15. 101–103), Juno is adaptable, not to say hypocritical. Alone, brooding on the unhealed wound to her pride, she burns with fury (1. 36–37 + 50) and is struck by a fierce pang (7. 291) — the same raging wrath which prompts her speech in rebuttal to Venus (10. 63). She starts her second monologue shaking her head in incredulous anger, like Poseidon at the sight of Odysseus (*Od.* 5. 285 and *Aen.* 7. 292). Yet she deigns to coax Aeolus (*supplex*, 1. 64), spur on Allecto (*his acuit uerbis*, 7. 330), and encourage Juturna (*exhortata*, 12. 159). In her negotiations with Venus she contrives to conceal her disdain and hostility, at least in manner. *Talibus adgreditur dictis* (4. 92) is a neutral phrase, which Vergil employs of Aeneas addressing Helenus in 3. 358 and Dido making a request of Anna in 4. 476; and so is *sic excepit* (4. 114, used of Ascanius in a friendly colloquy, 9. 258). With Jupiter, however, she is *summissa* and then *adlacrimans* (10. 611, 628), while her final claim of victory is disguised as a surrender and delivered *summisso uultu* (12. 807).

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

The painful changes in Dido's personality are strongly marked in the phrases that introduce the words she speaks. At first, in spite of her inborn pride, she feels a little inferior to the Trojan prince and his followers. After listening to Ilioneus's speech,

> tum breuiter Dido uultum demissa profatur,   (1.561)

and her speech contains an implicit apology together with a defense of her people against the charge of being remote and uncivilized (1. 563–568, cf. 1. 539–541). The sudden appearance of Aeneas startles her (1. 613), and at the feast she questions him eagerly (1. 748–756).

A few hours afterwards, *male sana*, she speaks urgently to Anna and ends in a flood of tears (4.8 and 30). On learning of Aeneas's proposed departure, she raves like a maniac (*furenti, saeuit inops animi, incensa bacchatur*, 4. 298 + 300–301). It is in this mood that she seeks him

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[60] "Perge modo" says Venus twice to Aeneas (1. 389 and 401). These, with the above, are the only occurrences of the imperative in the poem.

out to address her first reproaches to him *ultro* (4. 304). His speech of defense kindles her to a furious retort in which she curses him, *accensa* (4. 364), before rushing away and collapsing in a swoon (4. 388–392). She will never speak with him again. Her departure is strangely like the vanishing of his dead wife Creusa, who gave him her last message and then

> lacrimantem et multa uolentem
> dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
>
> (2. 790–791)

So here Dido disappears from the eyes of her lover

> linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
> dicere.
>
> (4. 390–391)

Yet she weeps bitterly as she sends Anna to him pleading for delay (*gemitus*, 4. 409; *lacrimas*, 4. 413; *fletus*, 4. 437).

The next stage begins when she determines to commit suicide, for she conceals her true emotions while addressing her sister (4. 474–477) although the effort and her suffering make her turn pale (4. 499). Sleepless, she is torn between the pangs of unfulfilled love and surging anger (4. 529–532). Her fury masters her when she sees that Aeneas has sailed away; and now she makes her first violent gesture, striking her bosom and tearing her hair (4. 589–590).[61] Yet, still a queen, she gives her orders to the old nurse briefly and clearly (4. 632–641). Her last utterance begins with a gush of tears (4. 649) and ends, after a kiss, with the thrust of Aeneas's sword (4. 659–665).

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Turnus, as revealed by the tone of his speeches, passes through five distinct emotional phases.

In the first he is a confident young warrior, laughing in scorn at an old priestess (7. 435–436), encouraging his soldiers at a setback (9. 126–127), and completely devoid of excitement in the duel with Pallas: witness *haec ait* (10. 444), *ita fatur* (10. 480), followed by the deceptively bland remark

> aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum,

then *inquit* (10. 491) and *talia fatus* (10. 495). As he listens to the threats

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[61] The same gesture, described with only the change of one adjective, is made in 12. 155 by Juturna.

of Pandarus and prepares to slay him, he is calm and smiling; his lofty manner is described in a slow line full of spondees (9. 740):

> olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus.

Vergil uses this archaic phasing only thrice elsewhere. Once it describes the balanced calm of king Latinus talking to Turnus himself (12. 18), and twice it evokes the tranquil smile of the supreme deity (1. 254, 12. 829). The implication here is that Turnus feels himself to be superior and unassailable.

Still, there is in him a latent instability, almost a psychosis, which at intervals dominates him very much to his detriment. It is this excitable element in his personality which is inflamed by Allecto (7. 456–466). Because he yields to this frenzy, he misses two important tactical opportunities — to capture Troy (9. 756–761) and to ambush Aeneas's army (11. 896–905): note *furor* in 9. 760 and *furens* in 11. 901. In this mood the adjective *turbidus* describes him; and the passion itself is his *uiolentia*.[62] The second phase, therefore, is one of dangerous excitement, during which he runs shouting after the phantom Aeneas (10. 647–652), then raves with suicidal despair (10. 666–686), then blazes out again during the debate (11. 376). Almost speechless with passion during his interview with Latinus (12. 9–10 + 45–47), he reaches a critical summit in the night before the duel, putting on his armor and shouting a sort of prayer to his spear (12. 92–102): *his agitur furiis*.

Then comes the depression which follows berserk fits. During the ceremony of oath-taking which is to precede his duel, Turnus is pale and silent: he does not look like the same man (12.219–221).

But a few moments later the fight breaks out. Aeneas is wounded and retires. At once Turnus *subita spe feruidus ardet* (12. 325). Killing a Trojan nobleman, he taunts him coldly, *haec insuper addit* (12. 358); but he does not speak again until he hears the attack on the Latin city (12. 620–621). Then, although gloomy in the expectation of death, he is quite firm (12. 631–649, 676–680, 693–695) and faces Aeneas courageously.

The last phase begins when his sword is broken, and he runs away like a stag pursued by hounds. For the first time he speaks *amens*

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[62] *Turbidus* is applied four times to Turnus (9. 57, 10. 648, 12. 10, 12. 671), once each to Mezentius (10. 763), Tarchon (11. 742), Arruns (11. 814), and the troubled spirit of Anchises seen in dreams (4. 353). *Violentia* of Turnus in 11. 354 and 376, 12. 9 and 45.

formidine (12. 776).[63] A little later, shaking his head sadly, he says that he is doomed (12. 894); and finally he prays for mercy (12. 930–931).

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It is Aeneas whose speeches evince the broadest range of emotions. They are very rarely prompted by happiness: his remarks at 6. 193 and 10. 874 are brief. When he is, or may be assumed to be, happy, he speaks with serene tranquillity. For example, when he proclaims the commemorative festival in Sicily, "laetum cuncti celebremus honorem," his speech is preceded only by the plain words *tumulique ex aggere fatur* (5. 44).

During the capture of Troy he weeps during his vision of Hector (2. 279–280), then rages with fury (2. 575, 588), and at his father's refusal to leave home determines to die fighting ("mortem miserrimus opto," 2. 655). Then, after Anchises is convinced, Aeneas gives orders for evacuation very rapidly, without a modifying phrase or even a verb of speech (2. 707).

On his journeys in Book Three he manifests no emotion through his speeches except when consoling Andromache (*turbatus*, 3. 313–314) and when parting from her and her husband (3. 492). But during the storm and after the landing in Africa his sufferings are more intense. He groans with despair as he wishes he had died years ago (1. 93), sighs as he tells his mother of his wanderings (1. 371), and weeps when he sees the paintings of the Trojan war (1. 459). Nevertheless, he addresses his men with confident words and conceals his own anxieties from them (1. 197 + 208–209).

So again, when confronted by Dido, he is compelled to disguise his feelings, although with a hard effort, *obnixus*, which makes it difficult for him to speak in reply (4. 331–332). He continues to make the same effort to control his emotions when Anna brings persuasive and loving messages from Dido to him (4. 437–449).

There has long been a question whether, in line 449, the tears which flow uselessly are those of Aeneas or those of Dido. (The tears of Anna are unimportant, and are excluded by Dido's in 413 and 437.) The question is determined by the syntax:

<div align="center">mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.</div>

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[63] It is a sign of Turnus's instability that *amens* is applied to him five times: he is *amens* with warlike fervor in 7. 460, with shame in 10. 681, with amazement in 12. 622, and with terror in 12. 742 and 776. Aeneas is *amens* in Troy, with alarm and rage (2. 314) and with despair at the loss of his wife (2. 745); later, with horrified surprise at the epiphany of Mercury (4. 279). Others so described are Panthus (2. 321), Iarbas (4. 203), and Nisus (9. 424).

It is scarcely possible for two nouns as subjects in the same line to belong to two different people, unless clearly differentiated, for instance by possessives such as *huius* and *illius*. Therefore, since the *mens immota* belongs to Aeneas, the *lacrimae inanes* belong to him also. Furthermore, after the opening sentence, Aeneas is the theme of the entire paragraph: all our attention is focused on him and his thoughts and feelings: *ille* (438), *uiri* (440), *heros* (447). It is scarcely logical to introduce a more distant subject as a reference for the final three words alone. And emotionally the picture is correct. *Mens* here signifies not the vague word "mind," which in English can include the emotions, but "will," "purpose," as in 5. 812, 8. 400, 10. 182. This is the *mens* which Dido has urged Aeneas to abandon (4. 319). But his emotions are in conflict with it, *magno persentit pectore curas*, and it is the pangs of that conflict which wring tears from him. These are the same tears that he will shed for Dido in the world of the dead: tears of love (6. 455) and of pity (6. 476). The image in lines 441--446 points to the same conclusion. Aeneas is the oak rooted in the rock. The persuasions and lamentations of Dido strive to move him as the storm-wind strives to uproot the oak-tree. The branches of the tree scream and its leaves fall heavily on the ground; but the trunk is steadfast: so Aeneas's heart labors with pain and his tears fall, but his resolution remains unmoved. Finally, this interpretation is supported by the Homeric parallel. A hero in love with a beautiful woman, a hero who conceals his emotions and sheds tears without altering his purpose — this is Odysseus with Penelope in *Od.* 19. 203–212. First, a weather-image (19. 205–209); then Homer tells us that Odysseus feels pity in his heart, but his eyes are as firm as horn or steel, ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροιϲι: so Aeneas also *immota tenebat/lumina* (331–332). Odysseus weeps, but δόλωι . . . δάκρυα κεῦθεν; from Aeneas (just after a significant repetition of *immota* = ἀτρέμαϲ) *lacrimae uoluuntur inanes*.

Fear is an emotion which Vergil's Aeneas seldom feels. Homeric heroes are often frightened. Achilles himself, facing the Homeric Aeneas in *Il.* 20. 259–266, is afraid ("foolishly," adds the poet); the Homeric Aeneas is still more scared when Achilles' spear nearly kills him (*Il.* 20. 273–283); and Hector trembles and flees from Achilles like a dove from a falcon (*Il.* 22. 136–144). In the hurricane, Vergil's Aeneas groans and suffers traumatic shock (like Odysseus seeing the great wave, *Od.* 5. 406); but he speaks coherently enough (*Aen.* 1. 92–101). At the first appearance of Mercury he is paralyzed with awe (4. 279–280), and his voice is impeded by fear of Dido's rage in 4. 390–391. With the second appearance of Mercury, he wakes *exterritus*

(4. 571). (The word is used of Aeneas only twice: once there, and once when he sees hell surrounded by the river of flames, 6. 559.) Once and once only after leaving Africa is his resolution severely shaken: when his ships are burning in Sicily. Then he tears his festal robe and prays Jove either to save his fleet or to strike him dead (5. 685–692); and even after the miraculous rainstorm he is still *casu concussus acerbo* (5. 700).[64] Thereafter he never quails again. In the presence of the Sibyl possessed by Phoebus, he and his attendants tremble, but the long prayer he utters shows no trace of alarm or excitement (6. 54–76). So, after the Sibyl has uttered her predictions, he remains unmoved even while asking her to guide him through the other world (6. 102–103 + 124). Here there is an intentional contrast with Homer. When Circe tells Odysseus that he must go to the land of Hades, his heart is broken and he weeps and grovels: he is still crying when he sets out on the voyage (*Od.* 10. 496–499 + 11. 1–5). The monsters of the underworld alarm Vergil's Aeneas, as Odysseus was frightened by the thought of seeing the Gorgon, but instead of trying to escape he draws his sword to attack them (*Od.* 11. 632–637, *Aen.* 6. 290–294).

Aeneas rarely speaks under the pressure of the softer emotions at any time after his entry into the underworld. Twice more he weeps bitterly: once when addressing the ghost of Dido (6. 455 + 476) and once when speaking of the dead Pallas (11. 29 + 41, 11. 59). Once, over Lausus, he groans (10. 823). As he comments on the omen of the tables, he is struck by wonder (7. 119), and he receives the envoys of the Latins graciously (11. 106–107). But even when he embraces his son, Vergil does not signalize any emotional tone in his speech (12. 433–434 + 441).

On the contrary, harsher and crueller feelings begin to dominate his words. He speaks with chilly brevity (*talia reddit*) to Magus before stabbing him in the throat (10. 530–536). A little later he gibes *inimico pectore* at a headless corpse (10. 556), taunts a dying man *dictis amaris* (10. 591), and warns or threatens Lausus before killing him (10. 810). It is in this phase that the poet compares Aeneas, not to a god or a hero or a noble animal, but to the monstrous fiend Aegaeon (10. 565–570). Grim battle-joy appears in his challenge to Mezentius (10. 874). In the last conflict he speaks little. His command that the Latin city be stormed is prefaced by the bellicose line:

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[64] Later Aeneas is *casu concussus* at the death of Palinurus (5. 869) and at the sight of Dido's phantom (6. 475). Compare, in the storm-image of 4. 441–446 (p. 227 above), *concusso stipite.*

continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago.

<div align="right">(12. 560)</div>

Yet although his speech made then is full of hard angry words and sounds, it is accompanied by no phrase indicating emotion: Vergil may therefore intend us to understand that it was uttered in a tone of icily controlled anger: *fatur* and *dixerat* are the words (12. 564 and 574), not *conclamat* or *talia uociferans*.

Aeneas's two final speeches display him as cruel and terrible. He utters his last challenge to Turnus *saeuo pectore* (12. 888). *Saeuus* is used four times of the remorseless enemy Juno (1. 4, 2. 612, 7. 287, 7. 592), twice of Achilles (1. 458, 2. 29) and Pallas Athena (2. 226, 2. 616) and Mars (7. 608, 11. 153) and, strikingly, of Jupiter himself in the final books (11. 901, 12. 849). It is never applied to Aeneas until the last books of the epic, and then five times (*saeuae irae*, 10. 813; "saeuissime," 10. 878; 11. 910, 12. 107 and 888). At the end, after recognizing Pallas's sword-belt, Aeneas condemns his victim to instant death, *furiis accensus*. This is a very strong phrase, which Vergil uses elsewhere of the raving Latin women (7. 392) and, with a slight alteration in form, of Dido in her rage (4. 376).[65] As Aeneas plunges the sword home, he is still ablaze with passion, *feruidus*. This word also shows the change in his temper. Of its eleven occurrences the most striking are its applications to Amata (7. 397), Hercules (8. 230), Turnus (9. 72, 12. 325), and Aeneas himself four times (10. 788, 12. 748, 894, and 951). It would be more humane to view Aeneas here as a judge executing a righteous sentence, *debellans superbos*. But that is not how Vergil describes him: he is killing a suppliant in a fit of passionate rage. When we first see Aeneas, in Book One, he is deathly cold. When we last see him, he is burning.

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[65] Dido is said *concipere furias* when resolving on suicide (4. 474). Others moved by *furiae* are the Locrian Ajax (1. 41), Orestes (3. 331), Hercules (8. 219), the Etruscans when enraged by Mezentius's cruelties (8. 494), Cassandra as described by Juno (10. 68), and Turnus (12. 101 and 668). The reading in 8. 205 is *furis*, not *furiis*, since the deed of Cacus is one of cunning (*scelerisue doliue*, 206) rather than of wild excitement.

TIBULLUS: *NUNC LEVIS EST TRACTANDA VENUS*

HAROLD C. GOTOFF

THE almost universal judgment of modern critics on Tibullus, whether asserted explicitly or apologetically implied, is that while he is impossible to hate, it is, nevertheless, difficult to admire him.[1] With only passing reference to the favorable opinion antiquity had for Tibullus[2] and no convincing attempt to explain it, modern critics and essayists concentrate rather on his more than Proustian delicacy and his sentimentality; his inadequacy for military service — as if that in itself would enfeeble his verse — and his tragically premature death, with the implication of some sort of prescient lack of vigor. What is rarely acknowledged or considered is that, at the time he was writing, he was young and handsome, rich and talented, and living in an age when young poets of his background and interests had access to the highest court circles and the most desirable beds in the capital of the world.[3]

[1] J. P. Elder, "Tibullus: tersus atque elegans," *Critical Essays on Roman Literature. Elegy and Lyric*, ed. J. P. Sullivan (London, 1962), 65ff, attempts to distinguish between text and received opinion about the text; but the cause of Tibullus is little furthered. G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (Methuen, 1969), cites Elder's contribution with approval in contrast to earlier criticism, but adds little to it. But see below, n. 7.

[2] Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* X.1.93), whose characterization *tersus atque elegans* is more frequently cited than explained. Ovid's appreciation in *Am.* 1.15.28 is too compendious to be of any use. The *laudatio* in *Am.* 3. 9 is more allusive than critical, and perhaps more stylized than either. It is nonetheless heartfelt. Accepting, *pace* J. P. Postgate, *Tibullus, Selections* (Macmillan, 1903), 178ff, that the Albius addressed twice by Horace is our Tibullus, we have another acknowledgement by a fellow poet — but one that does not enhance our perception of the cause of their admiration.

[3] Horace, *Odes* 1.33 and *Ep.* 1.4. There is no reason to suppose that court circles were any more or less sophisticated in amatory affairs than Roman high society in the time of Catullus (cf. Cat. 68. 135ff, cited p. 244) or of Ovid in *Am.* 3.4.37–38:

> Rusticus est nimium quem laedit adultera coniunx
> et notos mores non satis urbis habet.

While he is not without modern admirers, Tibullus has been accorded the special attention of few classicists. As a result, scholars and critics who deal with him in literary histories tend to treat him in perfunctory fashion. Received opinion is handed down uncritically. We find ourselves directed to certain poems, not for their literary merit, but because of information they contain or their convenience in illustrating certain themes identified with the author.

Much is made of Tibullus' love of rural life. Even if this is an accurate piece of biography, it does not necessarily reveal attitudes contained in the poems — the poetic personality as opposed to the personality of the poet. When it is assumed that longing for rustic simplicity in the poems indicates a sensitive, delicate author who was unable to cope with the complexities of urban life, then not only is biography being extrapolated from the poetry, but it is, with unilluminating circularity, being imposed back on the poems. It is essential, since Tibullan criticism has reached this point, to return to the text.

First, it should be pointed out that the attitude toward the pastoral life in Tibullus is hardly consistent. In 1.1.7–30 rustic simplicity is contrasted to its unqualified advantage with wealth and military prowess. Such a sentiment as

> iam mihi, iam possim contentus vivere parvo
> nec semper longae deditus esse viae
>
> (25–26)

is generally held to be typically Tibullan. Yet, in the very next poem, when Tibullus talks about living in the country, his attitude is quite different:

> ipse boves mea si tecum modo Delia possim
> iungere et in solito pascere monte pecus,
> et te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis,
> mollis et inculta sit mihi somnus humo.
>
> (1.2.71–74)

There seems to be considerably less enthusiasm for the countryside *per se*; rather, the presence of the erotic interest is necessary to make it palatable. In another poem, 2.3.9–10, the speaker manfully resolves to endure the hardships of country life if by doing so he can maintain proximity to his mistress.[4] The irony inherent in the attitudes of the last two examples is precisely what Tibullan critics have failed to consider.

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[4] Cited p. 239.

In 2.1 the rustic life, with its chores of agriculture, husbandry, and even weaving, is regarded sympathetically, as we should expect in a poem dealing with a country festival. But the attitude of the speaker is more complex. There is a long passage which evokes the beauty and tranquillity of pastoral, ending with a description reminiscent, I think of the vignettes that Hesiod inserts as relief from the didacticism of the *Works and Days*:[5]

> tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris
> > ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco,
> turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,
> > ludet et ex virgis exstruet ante casas.
> eventura precor: viden ut felicibus extis
> > significet placidos nuntia fibra deos?
> > > (2.1.21–26)

In 27ff, the speaker himself, with his patron and friend Messalla, enters the scene; and immediately the wine becomes vintage:

> nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos
> > consulis et Chio solvite vincla cado.
> > > (27–28)

There is at times a civilized, almost fastidious side to Tibullus' pastoral landscape. As above, the *rusticus* is *nitidus*, so in 2.5 it is the wealthy owner of the flock, not the shepherd, who enjoys the company of the young lady and bestows upon her suitably rustic gifts:

> illa saepe gregis diti placitura magistro
> > ad iuvenem festa est vecta puella die,
> cum qua fecundi redierunt munera ruris,
> > caseus et niveae candidus agnus ovis.
> > > (2.5.35–38)

Insofar as Virgil enters his literary bucolic world, he does so in the guise of a rustic. For Tibullus, his patron, and his mistress, the rural landscape must to a certain extent refine itself and conform to their sensibilities.

Returning to 2.1, not every commentator has deemed it worthy of notice that, though it begins quite straightforwardly with a rustic festival, it moves in quite another direction. For all its conventionality of rustic development, its self-conscious reference to literary evolution, and its graceful transition, through the invention of weaving to the

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[5] Cf., e.g., Hes., *Works and Days*, 588–596. Scenes of conviviality and relaxation in Horace's Odes also suggest themselves.

theme of chaste women, it emphasizes the erotic experience more than
the pastoral. Once Cupid appears upon the scene (67), the vignettes
become more general. The old man made foolish by love, the shifty
maiden who explores with her groping fingertips pathways in the dark-
ness of night:

> explorat caecas cui manus ante vias   (78)

— these are not the victims of an exclusively rustic infatuation. Once
in this ambience, the speaker acknowledges that the rustic scene of
innocent piety is deceptive. The celebrants of the festival pray for the
fertility of their flocks, but their thoughts are about themselves:

> palam pecori, clam sibi quisque vocet.   (84)

In fact, the farmers' deception is not maintained by the speaker, who
exhorts the rustics to sport amorously (*ludite*), ending with a description
of nightfall that is, at once, refined and ironic:

> ludite; iam Nox iungit equos, currumque sequuntur
>   matris lascivo sidera fulva choro,
> postque venit tacitus furvis circumdatus alis
>   Somnus et incerto Somnia nigra pede.
>   (87–90)

The introduction of symbols of death suggests the philosophical
attitude expressed by Horace and capable of being categorized, albeit
inadequately, under the rubric of *carpe diem*. In this instance it is the
amatory aspect of life, indeed the reproductive functions of man that
are alluded to; and the philosophizing in this context may be more
particularly reminiscent of Catullus in 5.4–6:

> soles occidere et redire possunt.
> nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux
> nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The direction of the poem has, in any case, altered dramatically.

Tibullus 2.5 is another poem that is usually glossed with an over-
simplified description rather than alluded to and criticized. We are
told that it is Tibullus' only poem of nationalistic interest, containing
references to Augustus' victory at Actium and possibly to Virgil's
epic.[6] This is hardly a recommendation for a work of art. Nor is it a
fair summation, as we shall see, of Tibullus' longest poem. The occasion
of the poem is the election of Messalla's son, Messalinus, to the sacred

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[6] This is essentially the characterization of Postgate, *Tibullus*, p. 121.

college entrusted with the care of the Sibylline books. The first 22
lines of the elegy seem to be unexceptional: the references to ritual
and hariolatory appurtenances are learned and adequate to the occasion,
if somewhat allusively presented. The apparently learned topographical
parenthesis from 23–38, however, is far from straightforward. The
speaker reveals an attitude, a facet of his personality. Setting the
confrontation of the Sibyl and Aeneas in a chronological perspective,
Tibullus adduces images of Rome in its earliest times, when cows
pastured in rustic simplicity on the Palatine. A sophisticated, urbane
Roman audience, we must suppose, can only have envisioned this
scene with amusement:

> sed tunc pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccae
> et stabant humiles in Iovis arce casae.
>
> (25–26)

In *Aen.* 8, 360–361, Virgil elicits the same response:

> passimque armenta videbant
> Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

Here, *lautis* makes patent the contrast between rustic antiquity and
modern chic and enhances the prettiness of the image. Should any
doubt remain about Tibullus' attitude toward this charming anach-
ronistic irony, the Sibyl herself is made to say with unnecessary,
somewhat histrionic, urgency in 55–56:

> carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas
> dum licet: hic magnae iam locus urbis erit.

It would be of interest to know with certainty whether Tibullus had
read Virgil, or vice versa.

The implication of this vignette, that the poem is not going to be
merely a solemn, occasional work of congratulation is supported in 32,
where Tibullus introduces into the prehistoric scene a consciously
obtrusive learned gloss, in the pentameter, of his use in the previous
line of the word *decrescit*:[7]

> fistula cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo:
> nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor.

Scholars are accustomed to acknowledge examples of erudition in
Latin authors, rather than to consider the effect of it. The above

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[7] Luck, *Latin Love Elegy*, 83–99, rightly makes much of the Alexandrian side
of Tibullus. The poet can be learned, as he can be literarily allusive; but
only with tact and for particular effect. See n. 15.

couplet, clever and inappropriate, injects a note of sophistication and detachment into the pastoral view of pre-history, and perhaps prepares us for the switch to the erotic interest in the last image of the paragraph.

With its rather fanciful, imaginative character established, the poem returns to the Sibyl's predictions for Rome's future and in five couplets covers the plot of the *Aeneid*, before moving on to Livy, Book I. The concision and lightness with which the subjects are handled are intrinsic to the elegiac meter. The author, however, is free to determine whether he will deal, within the compass of a couplet, with an event or an era, with a battle or a war. The compendiousness of 39–56 is deliberate; its effect, light and amusing, especially with the last couplet's fanciful collocation of the present capital of the world with former humble pastureland. The speaker's attitude is detached, somewhat wry. By contrast, the *laus Romana* of the next six lines is more leisurely and more prominent. It is, I believe, courtly in its conception: praise of the state redounds upon its leader. But when, after a scholarly roster of ancient seers, the speaker alludes to the *sidus Iulium* and the omens that followed Caesar's assassination, we are surprised to find that the frightening portents and perversions of nature, the earthquakes and eclipse of that extraordinary year, are characterized by the adjective *nubilus*.[8] No commentator is struck by the peculiarity of this word.

Haec fuerint olim: With this stark transition, the speaker acknowledges that he has not the slightest intention of being portentous. Picking up the theme of rustic simplicity and tranquillity from 33–38, he here uses it in contrast with the gravity and tumultuousness of Roman history. It is appropriate, for this contrast, to portray with appreciation the continuity of rustic life, where generations of the same family dwell together:

> et fetus matrona dabit, natusque parenti
> oscula comprensis auribus eripiet,
> nec taedebit avum parvo advigilare nepoti
> balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem.[9]
>
> (91–94)

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[8] Line 76. Though Ovid afterward used the word metaphorically to mean "sad, overcast, melancholy, or unpropitious," Tibullus' is probably the first usage of the word in poetry.

[9] In "On the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil," *Philologus* 1967, I argued on 71f that the last two lines of the eclogue reflect something in the common folklore and that the vignette should be read as homey and simple. I should have cited these verses as parallel.

Such admiration for the rural way of life fits the context very well; unfortunately, critics have used such descriptions to develop a biography for Tibullus. We are only entitled to do so, however, if we have reason to believe that, whenever the opportunity permitted, Tibullus would abandon Rome and return to kith and kin. We know what forced departure from Rome meant to Catullus and his circle; see Cat. 68.27–35. Tibullus, with his statesman patron and sophisticated mistress,[10] should not be thought less urbane.

The pastoral concern of 2.5.82ff, soon turns from country cultivation to country love, with the mock-realism of rustic violence in pursuit of sexual conquest in 101–104. In 1.10.51–64, Tibullus had already adduced the image of the slightly besotted yeoman falling roughly upon his country wench and occasioning the tears for which he will have later to repent. He then speculated on the place of women's tears in the sexual game—rustic version — and concluded:

> sit lacrimas movisse satis; quater ille beatus
> quo tenera irato flere puella potest
>
> (1.10.63–64)

This would be more in keeping with a sophisticated approach than black-and-blue marks on country limbs. Though he may envy the rustic's ability to avail himself of this rough and ready expedient, *lascivus Amor* really is not quite the thing.[11] Tibullus' own attitude is more nearly expressed in the lyrics of a modern song:

> Love in a cottage can stay there.
> I've had enough
> Of love-in-the-rough;
> Keep your rolls-in-the-the-hay there.[12]

Love-in-the-rough, it turns out, is decidedly un-Tibullan. He may indulge himself in the fantasies of rustic charm, but we frequently

[10] Who Tibullus' mistress or mistresses was or were, or whether any such existed, is of secondary importance. The characters of Delia and Nemesis must be of chic and educated, more or less independent women. In this respect Lesbia, Cynthia, Corinna, Delia, Nemesis, as well as Gallus' Lycoris, were identical. (Compare the complications arising in one's society from a liaison with another sort of woman in Cat. 6.)

[11] The first point of F. Solmsen, "Propertius and his literary relations with Tibullus and Vergil," *Philologus* 1961, 237ff is based on a misunderstanding of who is doing what to whom in the Tibullus poem. Not that another elegiac poet could not raise a hand in amatory violence (Ovid. *Am.* 1. 7).

[12] "Carry me back to Old Manhattan," Cory, Cross, and Windsor, General Music, ASCAP.

find him adding touches of sophistication to the ambience or fastidi-
ously criticizing it. He is a suave, urbane Roman love poet. If he
speculates on the advantages of the simple life and simple love, it is
to set a dramatic context for more egocentric considerations:

> et mihi praecipue, iaceo cum saucius annum
>   et (faveo morbo cum iuvat ipse dolor)
> usque cano Nemesim, sine qua versus mihi nullus
>   verba potest iustos aut reperire pedes.
>
> (2.5.109–112)

His is not an affair that can be ameliorated by the dealing of a few
blows and the coaxing of a few tears. The speaker is now back to the
favorite subject of the speaker in elegy, namely, himself. He alludes to
his own amatory situation, which sounds desperate, but can yet provide
the basis for a courtly and elegant reference to the son of his patron:

> at tu, nam divum servat tutela poetas,
>   praemoneo, vati parce, peulla, sacro,
> ut Messalinum celebrem,
>
> (113–115)

With this he returns from amatory speculations, both rustic and
personal, to the occasion of his poem. Given the obligation to write a
poem on a subject uncongenial to the elegiac genre, Tibullus, with
clever organization and neat transitions, has managed to honor Messa-
linus and still remain true to the personality of the elegist.

When the poems are considered in this manner, we begin to see in
Tibullus a poet with rather more vigor and personality than generally
distinguish his characters. In Catullus the poetic *personae* are extremely
various: the lover triumphant, the lover rejected, the lover sly, the
lover self-pitying, the lover hating vitriolically. By the time of the
Amores, Ovid almost dispenses with the dramatic situation; the lover
is typically in control of the situation and manipulates it rhetorically
with predominantly verbal ironies. In Tibullus, it is characteristic of
the speaker to appeal through his admission of incompetence, his
inability to cope, his demands upon the pity of his mistress and, indeed,
of anyone else. He is a rather comic character. The mistake critics
have made is to identify this personality with that of the author,
ignoring the irony of so helpless a character expressing himself in such
controlled and well-constructed, such meticulously and handsomely
articulated verses. Indeed, the poems are charming instead of banal
precisely because the speaker is not the poet.

When insisting upon the distinction between the poet and his speakers, I take exception to those critics who believe in the sincerity[13] of Tibullus' pastoral longings. In doing so, I do not mean to deny that the poet may, like so many urbane writers from Theocritus to Milton, look with some wistfulness on the simplicity and naturalness of country life. But, like any sophisticated poet living in a world capital, Tibullus must have appreciated his position. He was, whatever his origins, a Roman poet. While Ovid is almost unique in acknowledging it,

> prisca iuvent alios. ego me nunc denique natum
> gratulor. haec aetas moribus apta meis.
>
> (*AA* III.121–22)

it must also have been true of Tibullus. He enjoyed patronage, high repute, and the company of the best society.

In his fantasies he might return to the country, especially if his mistress were there. He could envision himself, with a mock-heroic attempt at preserving the stiff upper lip, engaging in rustic chores, though far from oblivious to the hardship:

> nec quererer quod sol gracilis exureret artus,
> laederet et teneras pussula rupta manus.
>
> (2.3.9–10)

One cannot overlook the devastating relevation of *gracilis* and *teneras*.[14] No amount of romanticism can blind the speaker to the incongruity of himself in the role of farmer. But, once fantasizing the part, he will play it to its comic hilt. No embarrassment at his weakness prevents him from seeking sympathy. He elevates his plight to a divine level, by depicting Apollo subjected to an equally uncongenial task:

> o quotiens illo vitulum gestante per agros
> dicitur occurrens erubuisse soror.

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[13] A. Allen, "Sunt qui malint Propertium," *Critical Essays* (cited above, n. 1), articulates extremely well the distinction between sincerity as a literary and a psychological term. No critic may ignore that distinction.

[14] This is an adaptation of advice given by Priapus to a homosexual lover on the make in 1.4.47–48:

> nec te paeniteat duros subiisse labores
> aut opera insuetas atteruisse manus.

For the teacher to propose and the pupil to execute this course is one thing; for the lover abjectly to call attention to it is another.

o quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,
  rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves.
                                    (II.3.17–20)[15]

Tibullus can hardly expect that he will be any less comical in a rustic
setting than Apollo, assertions to the contrary in other poems not-
withstanding (I.5.21–22). There is something basically ironic about a
doctus poeta[16] in a rural setting, and Tibullus, unlike so many of his
critics, does not fail to notice the irony.

Nor is it only the pastoral convention that he approaches with con-
scious irony. It is always a mistake to extrapolate biography from a
man's literary production, no less so when the poetry proports to be
'personal' or 'subjective'. Whatever emotion the poet may have felt
and wished to transmit in a poem, he must first transfer it to language
sufficiently universal for communication. In the process, however,
the original emotion becomes inseparably involved in the diction, the
way of talking about it. Further, the very diction creates a new situation
as it imposes its own rhetorical demands for balance, for certain
kinds of expression, for emphasis and de-emphasis. The poem, then,
even before its final polishing, where again style suggests certain turns,
is at some distance removed from the original situation and the original
feeling. This distance, this perspective, is necessary if the poem is to
convey an attitude; and the poetry of Tibullus is full of attitudes or
poses. Attempts to derive from his poems a certain life-style, a coherent
attitude toward his own life, can only result in confusion or arbitrary
selectivity. The exercise is worthy neither of the poet nor the critic.

It is hard to believe that anyone could ever have taken seriously the
kind of deathbed scenes found in the elegiac poets. Of course, there is
the tradition of sepulchral epigrams in which the speaker is the dead

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[15] Tibullus' use of mythology is discussed on p. 248. Different though Proper-
tius generally is in this area, we should not fail to notice a similar, comic touch
in 4.9.47–50, where Hercules says:

idem ego Sidonia feci servilia palla
  officia et Lydo pensa diurna colo.
mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus,
  et manibus duris apta puella fui.

So, too, in 2.22.28 and 2.8.29–30 (cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.9.33), where Achilles' anger,
and by extension, the *Iliad*, is derived from the loss of a mistress. The poets
were not unaware that Achilles would have behaved the same way had he been
deprived of a cow. Propertius' wit has largely escaped awareness.
[16] See 1.4.61: Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas.

person. Even here, in a sophisticated age, humor was not absent.[17]

> Life is a jest, and all things show it:
>   I thought so once, but now I know it.

It is also possible for a poet of epic or tragic poetry to compose a death-bed speech for one of his characters. But Tibullus engages in his self-pitying rhetoric and goes so far as to pronounce his own epitaph; this we must credit as wit or condemn as absurdity. In Tibullus, however, there is always an ulterior motive. In I.1 Tibullus projects to the end of his life and portrays the vignette of Delia mourning uncontrollably at his funeral pyre. Not only will his mistress be overcome with grief for the dead poet, but, the poet modestly informs us:

> illo non iuvenis poterit de funere quisquam
>   lumina, non virgo sicca referre domum.
>
>   (65–66)

A moment's reflection makes the poet sensible that Delia could not possibly indulge in mourning in the true classical fashion without detriment to her make-up, and so he urges on her a certain restraint, untypical for graveside lamentations. To please the aesthetic fastidiousness of his Shade:

> tu Manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis
>   crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis.
>
>   (67–68)

Catullus knew the havoc that weeping over a dead sparrow could wreak on a lady's prettiness:

> tua nunc opera meae puellae
> flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.
>
>   (*Cat.* 3.17–18)

Catullus' Lothario also knew that the function of philosophic speculation on death is to press the urgency of sexual union (Cat. 5). So, too, Tibullus, with a swift transition, urges:

> interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores:
>   iam veniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput.

[17] The epitaph composed for himself by the poet John Gay, d. Dec. 4, 1732. The verses by Pope that follow on the stone (*A Collection of Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions* [London 1822], p. 3) are too complimentary to have been written with propriety by the proprietor of the grave. In ancient literature we have the extravagant funereal projections of Trimalchio in Petr. *Satyricon* 71–72.

iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit,
    dicere nec cano blanditias capite.[18]

(69–72)

The poem goes on to end with a robustness that is the embarrassment
of the "anemic" school of Tibullan criticism.

   Similarly, in 1.3 Tibullus' preoccupation with death is ironic. I
find it hard not to compare with the first couplet the words of the flight
commander sending out one of his subordinates on a suicide mission:
"God, I wish I were going with you." Neither his illness nor his stated
desire to be accompanying Messala is compelling. When he talks about
his impending death and pleads for its postponement in an exquisitely
balanced, complex tricolon, on the grounds that the appropriate
mourners are too far away to attend the funeral, he should not be taken
entirely seriously. The egocentricity and, in modern terms, adolescent
self-pity of the speaker is undisguised and unremitting. The elaboration
of the rituals and prayers by which Delia tries to protect her lover turns
on the point:

audeat invito ne quis discedere Amore
    aut sciat egressum se prohibente deo.

(21–22)

Once the disease is diagnosed as amatory, the audience is entitled to
expect, however prolonged its duration (cf. 2.5 109–112), a non-fatal
result, though the speaker urges his case upon the deity with the
enticement that his recovery will force Delia prettily to absolve her
vows:

---

[18] See above p. 234. The *praeceptor amoris* well knows that love is a young
man's game, cf. 1.8.41–42. When the speaker evokes images of love lasting to a
hoary old age, e.g.,

nos Delia amores
exemplum cana simus uterque coma

(1.6.85–86)

he is sentimentalizing, for pathetic effect. Similarly,

atque aliquis senior veteres veneratus amores
    annua constructo serta dabit tumulo
et "bene" discedens dicet "placideque quiescas
    terraque securae sit super ossa levis."

describes a scene that is as out of place in love elegy as a pair of octogenarians
on a waterbed.

nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi (nam posse mederi
    picta docet templis multa tabella tuis)
ut mea votivas persolvens Delia voces
    ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat
bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes
    insignis turba debeat in Pharia.

                        (27-32)

These lines offer, in learned fashion, some details about the worship of
Isis — *lino tecta, bis die . . . dicere,* and *resoluta comas.*[19] They also give
a physical description of Delia, the pre-eminence of which is indicated
by the final pentameter and its first word *insignis.* The description
seems sensuous beyond the requirements of ritual. Such an emphasis is
neither casual nor subconscious; any more than is the querulous tone of
23–26 unintended, where the speaker suggests that the unkindest cut
of the inefficacy of Delia's prayers for her lover's well-being is that she
(and, more than incidentally, he) underwent a period of abstinence in
pursuit of the benefit of ritual.[20]

[19] Since erudition plays so large a part in the poetry of Propertius and so
dominates the verses of Callimachus, we are surprised to find so little of it in
Tibullus; or, rather, to find extensive use of it limited to so few poems. In fact,
those few poems, diverse enough to fall into two classes according to the
arbitrary and unnecessary grouping of W. Wimmel, *Der Fruehe Tibull* (Munich
1968), 15–16, comprise no inconsiderable part of Tibullus' output. They also
by no means exhaust the poet's use of erudition for poetic effect (e.g., the list
of mythological witches and description of hippomanes in 2.5.55–58 build
rhetorically to the lover's robust assertion in the final couplet:

    si modo me placido videat Nemesis mea vultu,
        mille alias herbas misceat illa, bibam.)

Except for the long poems, Catullus' work makes the same use of erudition,
e.g., the effect of *lasarpiciferis* in 7.4. Ovid's use of recherché knowledge varies
greatly, but is usually to some poetic purpose, even when, for example, he
catalogues the amours of rivers in *Am.* 3.6. The conclusion is not that all Roman
new poets except Tibullus were oppressively academic, but that Propertius
beyond the others seems to have shared this characteristic with his Greek
model, Callimachus. We are hardly entitled to assume that Gallus exhibited
that tendency, as does Wimmel, *Der Fruehe Tibull,* p. 11, or that Tibullus, by
limiting his use of learned allusions, was consciously turning away from such a
tendency.

[20] It is as natural for erotic poets to cry out in their frustration against the
vain imposition of sexual abstinence as it is in epic for Iarbus to complain about
the equally inefficacious performance of elaborate sacrifices (Virg., *Aen.* 4.208ff).
Ovid makes it the crescendo of a pathetic and irate tricolon in his Tibullus
poem:

    quid vos sacra iuvant? quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt
        sistra? quid in vacuo secubuisse toro?

Egocentricity is so much a part of the pose of the lover in an elegiac poem that we are not surprised to find him attributing his personal fate to the decay of civilization from the Saturnian age to the present time (1.3.35–52). The themes of the golden age are traditional and would be perfunctory if the speaker's concern were at all with that satiric commonplace. He is far too subjective; the dramatic function of those eighteen lines is to insist that he is absolutely undeserving of his sad fate and build up to the articulation of his epitaph. The composition of one's own funeral notice is a ludicrous exercise if pursued in earnest. Tibullus, here, now ignoring his immediate family, turns the epitaph into a graceful reference to his patron, unless *terra dum sequiturque mari* contains a little playful impatience with Messala's constant campaigning.

Speculation on his own death leads the speaker from his courtly compliment to an altogether charming fantasy: the Elysian Fields of lovers. Learned references to other portrayals of the underworld fail to appreciate the uniqueness of this conceit. If epic can have its Blessed Isles, so, *Venere duce*, can elegy, lines 57–66.[21]

The more conventional description of the underworld, with the traditional figures of mythology, is in sharp contrast to what precedes and might be passed off as an elegiac *tour de force*, but for the point made in 81–82. A place next to Ixion, Tityos, and Tantalus is reserved for the mortal who caused the separation of the poet and his mistress. That is extremely exalted company; though the extravagance of the fantasy is hardly inappropriate to the speaker.

The mention of separation conjures up a Penelope-fantasy: faithful Delia, surrounded by other virtuous maidens, plies the weaver's trade before the chaste fire. The image, taken seriously, would be equally applicable in modern times to the sisters Gabor. The promiscuity of our age is not chic, as it was, for example, in England of the late Victorian period, or between the Great War and World War II. The promiscuous Roman lady was quite in vogue in the time of Catullus:

> quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo,
> rara verecundae furta feremus erae,
> ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti.
>
> (Cat. 68.135ff)

He alludes, possibly, to the specific reference in Tibullus, but more likely to an elegiac trope.

[21] Ovid, of whom it may be said that he went a step further, fantasied a section in Elysium reserved for beloved birds, *Am.* 2.4.49–54.

There is no reason to believe that such an attitude did not inform the social behaviour of the *Venustiores* in Tibullus' time. Chastity, like rustic simplicity, was an image, not an ideal in elegiac poetry.

Before leaving the theme of death in Tibullus, we should return to 2.6. This is a poem containing many rhetorical approaches to seduction. If military service can relieve the speaker of the pangs of love, he will quickly make the transition from lover to soldier:

> erit hic quoque miles
> ipse levem galea qui sibi portet aquam.
> castra peto, valeatque Venus valeantque puellae
> et mihi sunt vires et mihi laeta tuba est.
>
> (7–10)

There is something in this bluff adaptation from courting to campaigning that reminds one of a Donizetti hero; in fact, Tibullus' speakers are often reminiscent of melodramatic characters in Italian opera! Here, the pose does not last long. The speaker himself admits his inadequacy in the role: self-irony is appropriate when it leads to self-pity —

> magna loquor sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
> excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.
> iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam.
> cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit.
>
> (11–14)

He next claims that hope, alone, has kept him from taking his own life; but the rhetorically handsome disquisition on hope, though perhaps philosophically satisfying to the propounder, proves equally useless. From such a measured approach to amatory difficulties, he switches to a perfectly macabre and grotesque appeal to his mistress by adducing the memory of her dead sister.[22] That this is not the nadir of a poet's tact but a desperate, grotesque grasping at seductive straws on the part of the totally self-absorbed speaker is made clear by the imaginative vignette of himself, perched like the slave in comedy, on a sacred and inviolable spot that gives impunity to his impertinence. We would do the lady an injustice to believe that she might be in this manner woo'd. The scene, with its efficacious conclusion, takes place solely in the imaginings of the lover. It is on that level that the appeal to his mistress's dead sister can be understood.[23]

[22] It serves no purpose to use these lines as "raw data" for a biography of Tibullus. The sister, like Delia herself, need be no more than a poetic convenience.

[23] In 1.6.57–66, Tibullus makes a similar use of Delia's aged mother. Again this tells us less about the life of Delia than about the lengths to which the speaker will go to justify or aggrandize himself.

The above is not the only place where the histrionic lover derives his situation from comedy. The *lena*, who appears in 2.6 and 1.5, is taken from that genre and is used in both places to bear the weight of critical abuse that should more justly have been leveled at the mistress herself.

In 2.6.44–54, she functions as a scapegoat when the speaker has reason to hope for a rapprochement with Nemesis. There are striking similarities between this section of the poem and another work that has been connected with comedy, Catullus 8, another poem of postured resolve and futile imposition of emotional control.[24] The circularity of construction in which the speaker's amatory anguish is directed against the *lena* through curses and imprecations, rekindled by the staccato-articulated, graphic questions:

<div style="text-align:center">

quidve meam teneat, quot teneatve modis

(2.6.52)

</div>

and returned again toward the *lena* echoes the more elaborate but equally circular movement of Catullus' poem, lines 11–19.

The point of criticism here is not to establish a rubric, Tibullus and Comedy, but to observe how his character(s) will use themes from comedy for their purposes in the pursuance of their fantastic rhetoric. So, too, rhetorical commonplaces are employed, again with the Tibullan irony that their function is to further courtship or excuse seductive failure. Thus, in 1.5, the speaker goes from blaming his misfortunes

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[24] The similarity in language between Cat. 8 and lovers' soliloquies in Roman Comedy has not escaped the notice of critics. Nor is it sufficient to say that in both contexts a literary approximation of the *sermo vulgaris* is being sought. There should, of course, be similarities between histrionic lovers of the comic stage and posturing, egocentric characters in love elegy. Only the imposed theories of generic purity and integrity in Latin literature need be offended; see p. 249. F. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* (Darmstadt 1966), 143–148, examines the relation of comedy to elegy and the place of erotic didacticism. More interesting than any particular conclusion is the realization that generic purity is by no means an inviolable fact of Latin literature.

Not only does the "generic approach" cause confusion and misunderstanding by its exclusiveness, but it also encourages uncritical classification of diverse subjects under a common rubric. As an example, I found myself using "pastoral," "rustic," and "bucolic" as interchangeable epithets. Yet, though I believe I show a relationship between what Virgil did in the Eclogues and what Tibullus does in some of his poems (p. 250f), nevertheless, a sharp distinction should be drawn between the highly artificial and literary landscape of the *Bucolics*, and the un-Theocritean, agricultural world it pleases Tibullus to portray. It seems hardly worthwhile to consider a *genus rusticum* with separate subdivisions for Hesiod, Theocritus, Virgil, and Tibullus.

on the *lena* to the realization of Delia's venality: *donis vincitur omnis amor* (60). Instead of providing the speaker with relief or at least a bearable resignation, it inspires him to portray, not without self-pitying (and biographically inaccurate) identification, the virtues of a poor, but steadfast lover. The description ends with the realization that this fantasy cannot be successfully imposed upon reality:

> ianua sed plena est percutienda manu.   (68)

is in sentiment and articulation reminiscent of the resigned cynicism of satire.

Similarly, the theme and tone of the following lines from 2.4, on the corrupting influence of wealth seem worthy of Juvenal:[25]

> haec (expensive gifts) fecere malas; hinc clavim ianua sensit
>   et coepit custos liminis esse canis.
> sed pretium si grande feras, custodia victa est
>   nec prohibent claves et canis ipse tacet.
>
>   (31–35)

Yet, not only do the meter and self-conscious word-play prohibit an identification with satire; there is a special wit and self-serving irony about the speaker using satiric commonplaces to bemoan, not immorality in general, but a particular situation disadvantageous to the pursuit of his amatory goals. That luxury items have encouraged women to be susceptible to the advances of lovers, that they have put husbands to the expense — often frustrated by money — of guards and locks, is surely a state of affairs for husbands to lament, not adulterers. The presence of a dog and a key in the door provide an obstacle not to lovers, but only to poor lovers.

The petulant attitude of the miffed lover toward his more legitimate rival, the lady's husband, is part of a playful, if somewhat surprising *trope* in love elegy. In two poems,[26] Ovid is found urging the husband once to be more compliant and once to be a more effective rival, lest Ovid lose interest. But the critics who applaud the humor of Ovid fail to recognize its origins in both 2.4 and 1.6, which portray a cyclical view of courtship. The speaker's mistress here takes advantage of the lessons he taught her for the deception of her husband in order to be

[25] Where, too, we would expect to find the sentiment and the vocabulary of Tib. 2.3.59–60:

> nota loquor. regnum ipse tenet, quem saepe coegit
>   barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes.

[26] Ovid, *Am.* 2.19 and 3.4.

unfaithful to the speaker himself. The poem, as so many of the corpus,
contains lines suited to an *ars amatoria*:[27]

> fingere tunc didicit causas ut sola cubaret
>   cardine tunc tacito vertere posse fores:
> tunc sucos herbasque dedi quis livor abiret
>   quem facit impresso mutua dente venus.
>
> (I.6.11–14)

The preposterous suggestion that his predecessor in the arms of
Delia — the husband — employ him to guard her faithfulness to him,
the speaker, is entirely consistent with the egocentric personality of
Tibullus' characters.

Not only does Tibullus feel free to adopt *tropes* from the pastoral,
comic, satiric, and didactic genres, but his characters unhesitatingly
adduce examples from mythology, if it is to their advantage. We have
already seen how Tibullus refers to the story of Apollo tending the
flock of Admetus, thereby allowing his speaker to aggrandize himself
comically by the use of the exaggerated comparison. In 1.5 we are
treated to a similar use of mythology for the sake of comic exaggeration.
This, too, is a poem of many poses, opening with the admission by
the speaker that his posturing of forbearance and control at the loss
of his mistress has been in vain. *Gloria fortis* is an ironically grand
expression of a notably futile gesture. After a number of rhetorical
approaches to rationalizing his self-pity appear to fail, he resorts to the
expedient of ladies of the night. But, this too is to no avail: he is
impotent. The prostitute, chagrined at his poor performance, harangues
him and accuses Delia of being an enchantress. This proposition the
speaker, so far from denying, elevates to a mythological plane in lines
suggestive of the opening of an epyllion:

> talis ad Haemonium Nereis Pelea quondam
>   vecta est frenato caerula pisce Thetis.
>
> (45–46)

Such language is in sharp contradistinction to the way that an angry and
professionally slighted daughter of pleasure would have expressed

---

[27] Scholars have long noted that 1.8 provides the model for the later erotic
didactic poems of Ovid; e.g., F. Wilhelm, *Satura Viadrina* (Breslau, 1896),
48ff (cited by Wimmel, *Der Fruehe Tibull.*, p. 18, n. 7). The information seems
to have made little difference to critics who have also passed over such percep-
tions in other poems as *fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus* (1.2.16), *quisquis amore tenetur,
eat tutusque sacerque | qualibet; insideas non timuisse decet* (ibid. 27–28), or even
*fabula nunc ille est: sed cui sua cura puella est, | fabula sit mavult quam sine amore
deus* (II.3.31–32).

herself. It is not out of character, however, as the diction of a character who can fantasy grandeur even into his failure to demonstrate manhood.

It is strange, with these unmistakable allusions to other genres of literature, that critics tend to deny Tibullus a strong place in the literary tradition.[28] The reason, it seems, is the inability of scholars to deal with his ironies. So in awe are we of the generic view of Latin literature since Norden, that Tibullus' way of playing on various kinds of poetry, his employment of arguments and allusions from areas we usually think of as disparate often leaves critics helpless to appreciate the poetic technique. Once we realize that Tibullus is creating characters who will stop at nothing rhetorically, logically, allusively, to gain their ends — to portray themselves in ways they think of as sympathetic or advantageous — we can appreciate that he does not so much "write in a particular genre" as employ techniques and commonplaces from different genres to his purposes. The effort, however, is nonetheless literary.

Another feature of Tibullus usually ignored is his relationship to Virgil. We have already referred[29] to the vignette of cattle pasturing on the site of Rome, a parallelism in which the priority is, I think, incapable of being established. When, on the other hand, he acknowledges

donis vincitur omnis amor.

(1.5.60)

the cynicism is heightened by the echo of Virgil, *Ecl.* X, 69:[30]

omnia vincit amor.

It should not surprise us in the slightest that Tibullus echoes the tenth *Eclogue*, the most posturing and tongue-in-cheek poem of that work which Horace characterized as *molle atque facetum*.[31] That by the last

[28] So insistent has been this refusal that until Luck and now Wimmel, poems 1.7 and 4, 8, 9 — a quarter of Tibullus' works — were more or less ignored as an embarrassment. Wimmel's argumentation — presuming a chronology from the contents of the poems and assuming, from that chronology, a poetic development — will not, if it gains currency, further the cause of the poet.

[29] See p. 235.

[30] The phrasing and rhythm obviously stuck in Tibullus' mind. Cf. 1.4.40: *obsequio plurima vincet amor.*

[31] Wimmel, *Der Fruehe Tibull.*, p. 62, hears echoes of *Ecl.* 10 in Tib. 1.8. I do not find the linguistic parallels compelling. Nor does the classification (Freundeshilfe aus seinem Mitgefuehl) add to our understanding of either poem. Again on 175–176, listing the similarity of motifs in Tib. 1.3 and *Ecl.* 10, Wimmel fails to examine the attitudes portrayed by the speakers in their situations or to distinguish among Theocritus' Daphnis, Virgil's Gallus, and Tibullus' wasting lover.

poem, Virgil is able without offense to introduce Gallus directly into his pastoral milieu, to make what is at first an implicit identification between his friend and contemporary, Gallus, and Daphnis of pastoral mythology is a tribute to the mood he was able to develop within the *Liber Bucolicon*. If we ignore the tension between the two worlds, if we take seriously the proposition that Gallus is expiring for unrequited love, we miss the essential playfulness of the poem. Gallus managed to live, campaign effectively, influence politics, and write about love, presumably, for a dozen years after the composition of the tenth *Eclogue*; and when he did die, it was assuredly not of love. Whatever can happen in tragedy or pastoral, in personal poetry dying for or of love is *hyperbole*; and if it is not tongue-in-cheek, it is likely to be banal. Whether Gallus was guilty of such a lack of tact we shall never know; it is surely a mistake to attribute it to Virgil. Yet the themes of separation and war, so familiar to us from Tibullus, are here present:

> nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
> tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis.
>
> (*Ecl.* X, 44–45)

There is the added irony that not only do the exigencies of campaigning keep Gallus away from his mistress, but she has removed herself from Rome in a different direction with a different lover. The pathetic resignation of Gallus to a pristine and pastoral life contrasts largely and laughably with the career of that effective general and urbane poet. But Virgil is exploiting the bucolic genre where somewhat comic self-pity is at home with the less-than-real traditional characters.[32] The fact is that Virgil makes his pastoral Gallus talk very much like the way Tibullus' speakers talk. In the tenth *Eclogue* the bucolic harmony at one point is jarred, and the speaker realizes the inefficacy of the pose:

> ... libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu
> spicula — tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris,
> aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat.
>
> (59–61)

Neither the pastoral mood nor poetry (*nec carmina nobis/ipsa placent*; 62–63) is sufficient to ameliorate his amatory plight. This is an appropriate note for Gallus to close on, especially because the tenth *Eclogue* is Virgil's last pastoral poem. It takes on, therefore, an especially haunting and somewhat melancholy flavor for most readers. Virgil certainly has it in him, even in the Eclogues, to set melancholy moods;

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[32] Compare, for example, Polyphemus' ludicrous plaint in Theoc. *Id.* 11.

but I suspect that many readers have ignored the elaborate rhetoric, the obtrusive learned allusions, and the intrinsic disingenuousness of those words in the mouth of that speaker.[33]

Tibullus had no such difficulty. He alludes to the closing lines of Gallus' speech with that robustness, that bombast, and that histrionic self-pity which is too often missed by Tibullus' readers:

> nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo:
>   illa cava pretium flagitat usque manu.
> ite procul, Musae, si non prodestis amanti:
>   non ego vos, ut sint bella canenda, colo.
> nec refero solisque vias et qualis, ubi orbem
>   complevit, versis Luna recurrit equis.
> ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero:
>   ite procul Musae, si nihil ista valent.
> at mihi per caedem et facinus sunt dona paranda,
>   ne iaceam clausam flebilis ante domum . . .
>
>   (2.4.13–22)

If Virgil can use a renunciation of poetry for mock-pathetic effect in the speech of his bucolic Gallus, Tibullus can, with utter consistency, take off on that reference in the speech of one of his endlessly and shamelessly posturing characters. Whether this indicates something about the character of Gallus's poetry or not, we cannot tell with certainty. We can say that Tibullus appreciated the humor of contemporary Romans talking like rustic lovers in bucolic poetry and exploited the comic irony of a posturing speaker in his elegiacs. In doing so, he set the tone for Propertius and Ovid.[34]

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[33] The elegiac poets "knew Virgil when . . ." No modern ever acknowledges that there is nothing grand or awestruck about Propertius' much-cited reference to the *Aeneid*:

> cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai.
> nescioquid maius nascitur Iliade.
>
>   (2.19.65–66)

It is not enough to say that the colloquial *nescioquid maius* is appropriate to the elegiac genre. There is mock-grandeur in the rhetoric of the line above. I am tempted to believe that the similarity of language between Tib. 1.10.30–31:

> ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
> miles et in mensa pingere castra mero

and the frequent, courtly, and elegant *recusationes* in the *Eclogues* (4.53–54, 8.7–8, cf. 6.6–7) is not accidental.

[34] That humour is abundant in Propertius will be clear to any reader who is convinced by the above remarks on Tibullus. The poses are there in Prop., too. See n. 13.

DRAPED HERM FROM SARDIS

NANCY HIRSCHLAND RAMAGE

IN September 1970 a farmer brought into the camp of the Harvard–
Cornell expedition to Sardis a statue fragment which he had found
the previous winter.[1] Preserved is the head of an archaising marble
herm; the upper part of the squared shaft together with the left strut
and a trace of the right one; and heavy folds of drapery which fall
from above the head onto the left shoulder (Plate I). The dimensions
are: height 0.22 m; width 0.115 m; depth 0.125 m; height of head
0.065 m; width of head ca. 0.055 m.

The head, which is worn but preserved intact, reveals the typical
features of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes.[2] It is crowned by
three rows of archaising corkscrew curls. The eyes are elongated and
the mouth framed by a moustache and heavy beard, which covers
most of the cheeks. The nose is damaged, as are the lower corners of
the beard. A single lock of hair falls at each side of the head, another
feature of such archaising herms.

The shaft has smooth surfaces, except the bottom face which has
been broken on a slanting plane, and into which a hole, 0.015 m in
diameter, has been cut. Since this hole is carefully centered, it may well
have been made in antiquity, to repair the shaft.

The drapery consists of thick heavy folds which extend down as
far as the herm's left strut, and sweep toward the back of the statue
in half-a-dozen loops (Plate II, fig. 2). The surface of the drapery at
the herm's right (Plate II, fig. 1) has been damaged, but the loose ends

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[1] I am very grateful to G. M. A. Hanfmann for his invitation to publish this
piece and for the notes he took in 1970 and 1971. The sculpture, catalogued
No Ex 70.15, is said to have been found 400 m north of the Izmir–Ankara
highway in the village of Sart Mustafa. It was bought on behalf of the Manisa
Museum. Notes of its discovery have appeared in G. M. A. Hanfmann and
R. S. Thomas, *BASOR* 203 (October 1971) 9, and M. J. Mellinck, *AJA* 75
(1971) 176, pl. 41, fig. 20.

[2] For the bibliography on Alkamenes herms, cf. James R. McCredie, "Two
Herms in the Fogg Museum," *AJA* 66 (1962) 186–188, to which add the
thorough recent study on herms by E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic
Sculpture. The Athenian Agora XI*, Princeton (1965) 122ff and 129ff.

of the same piece of drapery, summarily carved, can still be seen. Immediately above the head is a roughly worked portion, nearly 0.03 m high, where there is no drapery, and which was presumably covered by something. At the top of the drapery is a worn break.

This type of archaising bearded herm is a copy of the famous Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes. Because ours is too badly damaged on the surface to study details, such as beard patterns, it is impossible to claim a likeness to the Ephesian or Pergamene varieties of Alkamenes' herms, and the most we can say is, like Professor E. B. Harrison when describing similar pieces,[3] that this head is "Alkamenoid."

We have here, on the other hand, not merely a herm, but a draped herm, a well-known type which served as a statue support,[4] and which is known from a number of copies.[5] Of these, the one with drapery most similar to the Sardis herm is in the Prado: the Hermes leaning on a herm, a statue thought to be a copy of Kephisodotus' original of the early fourth century (Plate III).[6] Similarities between the Prado youth and a drawing by de Cavalleriis[7] showing Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus have led to the suggestion that both are derived from the statue by Kephisodotus mentioned by Pliny, *NH* XXXIV.87. In both the Sardis and Prado herms a heavy overlay of folds falls in loops at the left of the head of the herm; the short loose ends of material fall at the herm's right side in both, and there is less material at the right than left. The heavy loops and folds at the upper left of the herms' heads in both cases tend to throw a shadow, which partly obscures this part of the head.

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[3] Harrison (above, n. 2), 134.

[4] Professor Harrison has argued that such supports need not be specific copies of the Propylaios of Alkamenes, but rather were simply anonymous roadside herms (pp. 122–124).

[5] Some of the comparisons considered, other than the two mentioned below, were: Varese Museum "Poliaghi" Dionysus, G. E. Rizzo, *Prassitele*, Milan and Rome (1932) 76ff, and C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La Sculpture antique* 4:1, Paris (1954) 312ff; Prado "Poliaghi" Dionysus, Rizzo (above, n. 5), 76ff, Picard (above, n. 5), 312ff; Athenian Agora herm found in 1932, *Hesperia* 2:4 (1933) 534–535, fig. 18, Harrison (above, n. 2), no. 213, p. 166, pl. 57; Sisyphos II from the Daochus Monument in Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes* 4 (1957) pl. 67, J. Marcade, *BCH* 77.2 (1953) fig. 8, Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* 4:2 (1963) 651ff, figs. 282, 283; and the Musée de Vienne, Isère, herm, Picard, *ibid.* 3:1 (1948) fig. 34. In all of these the drapery is markedly different from the Sardis herm.

[6] Rizzo (above, n. 5), 8–9, pl. XII.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. XII. Also Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* 3:1, 108ff, fig. 29. For a reconstruction by W. Klein, see Rizzo pl. XIII and Picard fig. 33.
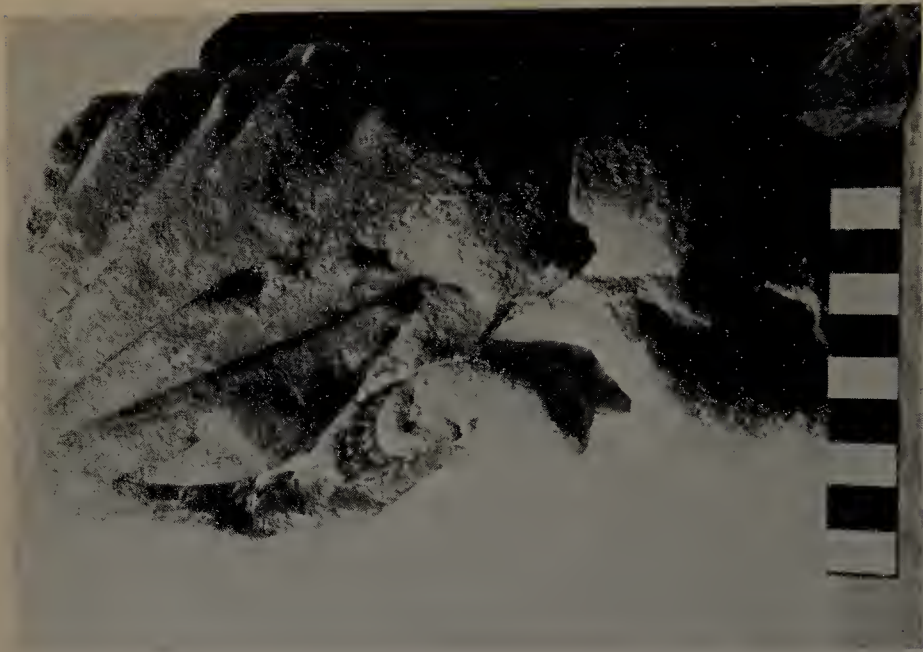
Plate I

Fig. 2

Plate II

Fig. 1

PLATE III

Fig. 1   Fig. 2

PLATE IV

Another herm with marked similarities to our Sardis piece is one found in the Athenian Agora in 1931;[8] a child, presumably Dionysus, actually sits on top, supported by an adult hand (Plate IV, fig. 1). On examining the drapery, it will again be found that there are heavy overfolds falling in loops at the left side, although in the Agora example these folds are placed farther around toward the back. A comparison of the frontal view is particularly revealing, in that we seem to have here the reason for that roughly chiseled blank area above the head of the herm from Sardis. If one postulates a baby sitting on the drapery, like the Agora baby Dionysus, his feet would fit nicely into this slightly recessed unfinished part. Since this is a protected and undercut area, it is not one easily broken away; nor would it be cut this way for reuse; rather, the stone was originally carved roughly and intended to be covered by something else. The baby provides a likely explanation.

The right side views of the Sardis and Agora herms (Plate II, fig. 1, and Plate IV, fig. 2) provide further interesting parallels. In both the drapery falls down as far as the strut. In both there is a slight projection, round in shape, near the top of the drapery: we may have here the remains of a join or strut to the Hermes which presumably stood next to the herm, as in the Prado Hermes. The position of the child on the Agora herm is very far to the front, thus overhanging the herm itself. The Sardis drapery projects far forward, and a child sitting upon it would be in a similar position.

The greatest problem in assuming the presence of a child on our herm is that, apart from the rough area over the head, there is almost no trace of a baby. No evidence remains of either the feet or buttocks, or of a supporting arm of an adult. G. M. A. Hanfmann writes, however, that after cleaning in 1971, a little end of drapery, which might come from under the baby, was discernible at the edge of the broken area. Perhaps at some stage when the statue was damaged (the broken shaft lends weight here) and the baby broken off, the herm was reworked, to eliminate all traces of the child.

Despite the worn surface of the Sardis piece, it is a good, rather delicately worked Roman copy of the draped herm, which may be dated by the stop and go drill holes to the first century A.D. The soft workmanship reminds G. M. A. Hanfmann of Alexandrian sculptures. The two other copies to which it may be most closely compared are both statues where there was originally a baby sitting on top of the

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[8] *ILN* (August 29, 1931) 337; Rizzo (above, n. 5) 9f, pl. XIV; Harrison (above, n. 2) no. 210, pp. 135, 162ff, pl. 56.

herm (this is only presumed, but likely, for the Prado type), and if we are correct in our view that the Sardis herm also originally had such a child, we have here an interesting addition to the scanty examples of the type.

ITHACA COLLEGE

THE "LIGHTHOUSE" OF ABUSIR IN EGYPT

Fawzi el Fakharani

MUCH has already been written about the tower which marks the site of the small town of Abusir in the Western Desert of Egypt (Fig. 1). The tower stands as a landmark on the main road from Alexandria to Marsa Matrooh (the ancient Paraetonium) and Cyrene. It is only 50 kilometers away from the capital of the Lagids. From the crest of the hill which it surmounts, the tower looks over the Mediterranean coast to the north, and to the ruins of the ancient city of Taposiris Magna[1] and its port on the Lake "Mareotis" to the south. Hence it is known to archaeologists as the "Lighthouse of Abusir," but to the natives as "The Tower of the Arabs."[2]

Owing to the importance which it attained as one of the few remains of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt and as a monument of unique structure, the tower became the subject of considerable argument and

[1] Strabo, XVII, 1, 14. It is likely that it is the old city of Ἆπις mentioned by Herodotus (II, 18, 5) as verified by Lawrence and Waddell (cf. W. G. Waddell, *Herodotus II*, London, 1939, p. 269). It is undoubtedly the modern city of Abusir in the Western Desert of Egypt since "Taposiris" represents "the city of Osiris": the word Taposiris is composed of Ta-ape-Osiris which means in hieroglyphs "The Harem of Osiris" (see A. E. P. Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt from Abydos to the Sudan Frontier*, London 1910), pp. 60, 61). The Pharaonic god Osiris was accommodated in a temple of a Pharaonic style with pylons even in the Ptolemaic period as is the case of the temple of Hathor at Dendera and that of Horus at Edfu. The stem of the ancient word "Taposiris" is retained in the Arabic word "Abusir" (see also A. De Cosson, *Mareotis*, London, 1935, p. 110). For the identification of the city, see Mahmoud Bey El Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie* (Copenhagen 1872), pp. 97ff; M. J. R. Pacho, *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque* (Paris 1827), p. 7. This identification of Taposiris as the modern Abusir is confirmed by the discovery at Abusir of a votive inscription on which the words οἱ ἀπὸ Ταποσείρεως were mentioned (see E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo 1922) p. 338.
[2] J. M. A. Scholz, *Travels in the Countries between Alexandria and Paraetonium, the Libyan Desert* (London 1922), p. 21; DeCosson, p. 111. At present, the name "Tower of Arabs" is given to the village which falls south of the lake opposite Taposiris. In this village there is in fact no tower, and it is likely, I believe, that the appellation "Tower of the Arabs" was given to the whole of this desert area roundabout the tower.

discussion among scholars. What function did it have in antiquity, and what was the date of its construction? Did it represent a lighthouse, a watch or signal tower, a funerary monument, or was it dedicated to the god Osiris together with the neighbouring temple?

In spite of many contradictory views concerning the nature of the tower, both scholars and travelers see in its form a resemblance to ancient lighthouses[3] as represented on ancient mosaics,[4] coins,[5] reliefs,[6] terracotta lamps,[7] and vases.[8] Moreover, on studying the description of the famous Pharos of Alexandria left us by Arab and Spanish writers[9] and by travelers who saw the monument, and on examining the illustrations of the various ancient works of art[10] which were modeled after that great wonder of the ancient world, archaeologists believe that the Tower of Abusir was fashioned after the famous lighthouse of the Ptolemies. Some scholars estimate that it was even built to the scale of one tenth of the Pharos,[11] for it rose before the restoration[12] to a height of more than 17 meters (Fig. 2). Moreover, it is

[3] See E. Allard on "Lighthouses" (1889).

[4] Stuart-Jones, *A Catalogue of Sculptures in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,* p. 268; H. Thiersch, *Pharos antike Islam und Occident* (Leipzig 1909), p. 15, Fig. 11a; A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain,* III (1940–50) (Alexandria 1942), p. 137 n. 3, and the attached pl. D, Fig. 66.

[5] Breccia, Figs. 229, 231; D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press 1964), p. 184; A. Bernard, *Alexandrie la Grande* (Paris 1966), pl. 7.

[6] Robertson, p. 184.

[7] Breccia, Fig. 159.

[8] Bernard, Pl. 9: Un goblet à Begram (Afghanistan).

[9] For such Arab writers as Aboul Haggag Youssef Ibn Mohammed el Balawi el Andaloussi, see Omar Toussoun in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alexandrie,* 30 (1936), 49–53; Don Miguel de Asin, "Ibn Al-Sayj, the Duke of Alba," *in Proceedings of the British Academy,* 19 (1933), 277; Van Berchem, *Compte rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1898), p. 339; *Mémoires de la mission archéologique française du Caire,* Vol. XIX; G. Reinecke, in *Phil. Woch.* 19, (1937), col. 1869; F. Adler, *Der Pharos von Alexandria* (Berlin, 1901); G. H. Rivoira, *Architettura Musulmana* (1914), p. 148.

[10] Donaldson, *Archit. Numismatica,* Pl. XCII, pp. 345–349; R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of Coins, Alexandria,* Introduction, p. XCIV, Pls. XVI and XXIX.

[11] E. M. Forster, *Alexandria, a History and a Guide,* 2nd ed. (Alexandria 1938), p. 196. I am sorry that I have not had a chance to consult the latest edition of this book; DeCosson, pp. 111, 113.

[12] This estimation was calculated on the western side only because the eastern side is destroyed. In the restorations, some additions were permitted which did not follow the ancient scheme and were meant to facilitate the entry into the building for visitors; see Adriani, p. 135. Adriani gives the new measurements after the restorations. For the measurements before the restorations see Thiersch, p. 27; Breccia, p. 343.

composed, like the Pharos, of three main stages, a square basement (10.75 × 10.75 m.) surmounted by an octagonal building (10.65 m. high) with a cylindrical construction on top (Fig. 3).

Yet in spite of its similarity to the Pharos, the Tower of Abusir differed from it in certain features, which were marked out in studies by Thiersch[13] and Adriani.[14] In the Tower of Abusir, for example, a stone socle half a meter high was added between each stage and the next (Figs. 1, 3), but the windows which were opened in the walls of the Pharos are missing in the Tower of Abusir.[15] The two towers also differed greatly in their internal setting, as we shall see.

Because of the crest of its structure and its location high on the hill dominating both the Mediterranean and Mareotis Lake, the tower was thought by many scholars and travelers (including the scientists of Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt,[16] Pacho,[17] Thiersch,[18] Pagenstecher,[19] Kees,[20] Fyfe,[21] Breccia,[22] Forster,[23] Bernard[24] and others[25]) to have been an ancient lighthouse. These authorities, however, had different opinions regarding the assumed function of the tower.

Fyfe and others saw in it a beacon tower burning all night to warn mariners of the rocky headland on which the neighbouring temple stands.[26] Forster and DeCosson[27] thought that it was one of a series of lighthouses or signal towers placed all along the coast from Cyrene to Alexandria. Thiersch and Breccia believed that the Tower of Abusir commanded one or two harbors of the city.[28] Of these two ports, one fell on the lake for inland trade with the districts bordering the lake and the other at the sea for exterior commerce. Thus according to some, it served navigation between Taposiris and Plinthine,[29] or

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[13] Thiersch, pp. 28, 31.

[14] Adriani, pp. 133, 135.

[15] T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture* (Cambridge University Press 1936), Fig. 17.

[16] Thiersch, p. 30.   [17] Pacho, p. 6.

[18] Thiersch, pp. 30, 31, 209; Plates 41–47, 49.

[19] R. Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis* (Leipzig 1919): "Das Leuchtturm–Grab von Taposiris Magna," pp. 115, 116.

[20] Kees, "Taposiris," in *PW* Col. 2260.   [21] Fyfe, p. 70, Pl. VIb.

[22] Breccia, p. 343.   [23] Forster, p. 196.   [24] Bernard, p. 109.

[25] Such as H. Von Minutoli, *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, pp. 41ff.

[26] Fyfe, p. 70; Breccia, p. 343; DeCosson, p. 112.

[27] Forster, p. 196; DeCosson, p. 112; Bernard, p. 109; Breccia, p. 343.

[28] Thiersch, pp. 30, 209; Forster, p. 194; Breccia, pp. 343, 344; DeCosson, p. 112.

[29] Breccia, p. 79; DeCosson, p. 112 and n. 1; Thiersch, p. 30.

it may have been used for the lake port which was, for some, the only port of the city of Taposiris.[30]

But in spite of all these interpretations regarding the use of the tower as a lighthouse, one wonders if the form and the location of the building can really be taken as sufficient evidence for the claim.

As a lighthouse or a beacon tower a huge and continuous supply of fuel, whether of oil or wood, would have been required to keep the fire burning the whole night long. Therefore, a great space on top of the tower or inside it was needed for storing a huge quantity of fuel. But the actual space on top of the building or inside its three stages (see the plan of Fig. 3) is very narrow and does not allow for storing even a small quantity of fuel.

Besides, the narrow and spiral staircase would not permit a single person to move easily up and down the building even if he were not carrying fuel. Unlike the Tower of Abusir, there were several rooms in the Pharos for the storage of fuel. In the Pharos, too, there were also sloping ramps[31] for the use of the mules which carried the fuel up, in addition to the staircase which was thought to be a double spiral.[32] Thus we realize that the construction of the Tower of Abusir and its internal setting do not favor its use as a lighthouse or a beacon tower burning all night.

It is also worth noticing that the pylons of the temple are equally high and stand nearly half a kilometer to the west and on the same spur of the hill as the tower (Figs. 4, 5). These pylons would have been more appropriate as beacon towers because they are internally wider than the tower and would thus allow more easily for the transportation of the fuel to the top. But in spite of that the pylons were not used for this purpose. How, then, could the tower, which is much narrower, have been used as a lighthouse or a beacon tower?

The location of the tower, on the other hand, cannot be considered the most appropriate or convenient one, had the tower been used as a lighthouse. The tower stands, for example, in the midst of a cemetery (Figs. 1, 4). Many of the tombs and the wells in this cemetery belong to the date of the construction of the tower and even earlier,[33] as we

[30] Thiersch, p. 209.

[31] Fyfe, p. 70; Bernard, p. 106; Bernard quoted the description of the Pharos by Aboul Haggag Youssef el Balawi el Andaloussi.

[32] Forster, p. 196.

[33] Adriani, p. 136, Pl. LII (1), Adriani pointed out that the tower is later than some tombs: "Comme le côté nord de la tour passe au dessus d'une partie de cette fosse, nous aurions pu avoir en celle-ci un terminus post quem pour la datation de la tour qui est évidemment postérieure."

shall see when we deal with the dating of the building. Burial continued in the cemetery even after the erection of the tower.[34] Moreover, the tower itself is centered on top of a funerary hypogeum (Fig. 1). Would all that not have hampered the tower in fulfilling its task perfectly, had the tower been a lighthouse? Besides, it would be most unusual to find a lighthouse erected in a cemetery!

Moreover, the tower does not stand right at the seacoast but at a distance of nearly 2 kilometers away from the sea and a kilometer and a half from the lake port to the south. But in antiquity, as well as nowadays, lighthouses were erected close to the entrance of the harbor in order to show the ships the direction they would have to follow in sailing into the port. The famous Pharos stood at the eastern end of the island of Pharos next to the entrance of Portus Magnus (i.e. the present Eastern Port of Alexandria).[35] Similarly, the modern lighthouse of the city is erected at the western end of the island of Pharos, next to the entrance of the present Western Port of the city (i.e. the ancient Port Eunostos), which has been used as the main port of the city of Alexandria since the nineteenth century.[36]

This fact shows clearly that any lighthouse served the port at whose entrance it stood. Subsequently, if the Tower of Abusir was used as a lighthouse, it could not have served two ports, one for sea navigation and the other for navigation on the lake, as claimed by Thiersch,[37] Breccia,[38] and Forster;[39] nor could it have served navigation on either the sea or the lake because of its location far from the sea and the lake. The famous Pharos, in spite of its big size and the great distance to which its light extended and which made it one of the seven wonders of antiquity,[40] served navigation only in one port (i.e. Portus Magnus) and not all the ports of the city, although these ports (e.g. the lake port and Port Eunostos) were closer to each other than the distance between the sea and the lake at Abusir. Thus, if the Tower of Abusir

[34] Thiersch, p. 30; Thiersch mentions a decorated tomb with a fresco of the Pharos whose inscription is probably of Roman date.

[35] Whether the famous Pharos stood on the Diamond Island or on the site of Fort Kai't Bey, the two spots fall close to the entrance of the East Port.

[36] This port became the main port of Alexandria since Mohammed Ali Pasha; see M. G. Jondet, "Les Ports submergés de l'ancienne Ile de Pharos," in *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, IX (Le Caire, 1916), pp. 50, 51.

[37] Thiersch, pp. 30, 209.   [38] Breccia, p. 344.   [39] Forster, p. 194.

[40] F. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* V: 4, 3: Josephus said that the fires of Pharos could send their light to a distance of 300 stades; see also *Ant. Jud.*, XVI: 5, 24. According to the circular form of the earth, that will give the Pharos a height of 120 meters; see Bernard, p. 109.

served in antiquity as a lighthouse, we would have expected it to have served navigation in one port only: either at sea or on the lake.

The remains of the lake port can still be clearly seen at Abusir, but we have no literary or archaeological evidence for a seaport there. The city of Abusir itself is not on the sea[41] but on the lake. The seaport nearest to the town stood, as it seems, at the vanished port of Phinthine,[42] at a distance of 4½ kilometers away. This is confirmed by the fact that opposite Abusir, there are no bays on the coast, and it appears that the coast was not fit for building a port. The tower, therefore, could not have served as a lighthouse for sea navigation between Taposiris and Plinthine.[43]

Had the Tower of Abusir served as a lighthouse, it would therefore have to be assumed that it served navigation on the lake as Thiersch claimed.[44] But, it seems to me, navigation on the lake did not require any lighthouse. We know, for example, that Alexandria had an important port on the lake, that the goods which poured into the city via this port were, as Strabo tells us,[45] much more abundant than the merchandise which came to the city through her seaports. Marea, too, was the capital of the nome of Mareotis (at least till the time of Justinian).[46] Its extensive remains date from the Graeco-Roman period, including its huge port and dykes which can still be seen untouched and unexcavated.[47] The lake ports of these two important cities (namely, Alexandria and Marea)[48] were undoubtedly no less important than Abusir, yet neither of these two important cities had a lighthouse for her lake port. Therefore, one would not expect Abusir to have had a lighthouse for hers.

Besides, in spite of the various ruins of the ancient towns scattered around the lake and the numerous islands[49] which could have constituted

[41] Forster, pp. 16, 133–137, 194; DeCosson, p. 112 and n. 2 for Strabo: DeCosson claims that if a maritime harbor existed, it would have been very small since Strabo stated that Taposiris was not situated upon the sea.

[42] DeCosson, p. 112; Breccia, p. 79; Forster, p. 194. Forster is wrong when he says that it is half a mile away; see Pacho, p. 7 and n. 3, for the distance between Taposiris and Plinthine as seven stades.

[43] Breccia, p. 79; DeCosson, p. 112 and n. 1; Thiersch, p. 30.

[44] Thiersch, p. 209.

[45] Strabo, XVII: 1, 7–8, 10; XVII: 7–22; Virgil, *Georg.* II: 91; Hor. *Od.* 37: 14; DeCosson, p. 109.

[46] De Cosson, p. 110.   [47] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–135.

[48] Mahmoud Bey *L'Astronome*, "Carte des environs d'Alexandrie contenant le lac Maréotis" (Paris 1866, 1875); *B.S.A.* 32 (1938), p. 176, for the map; Strabo, XVII: 7–22; DeCosson, p. 71, 72.

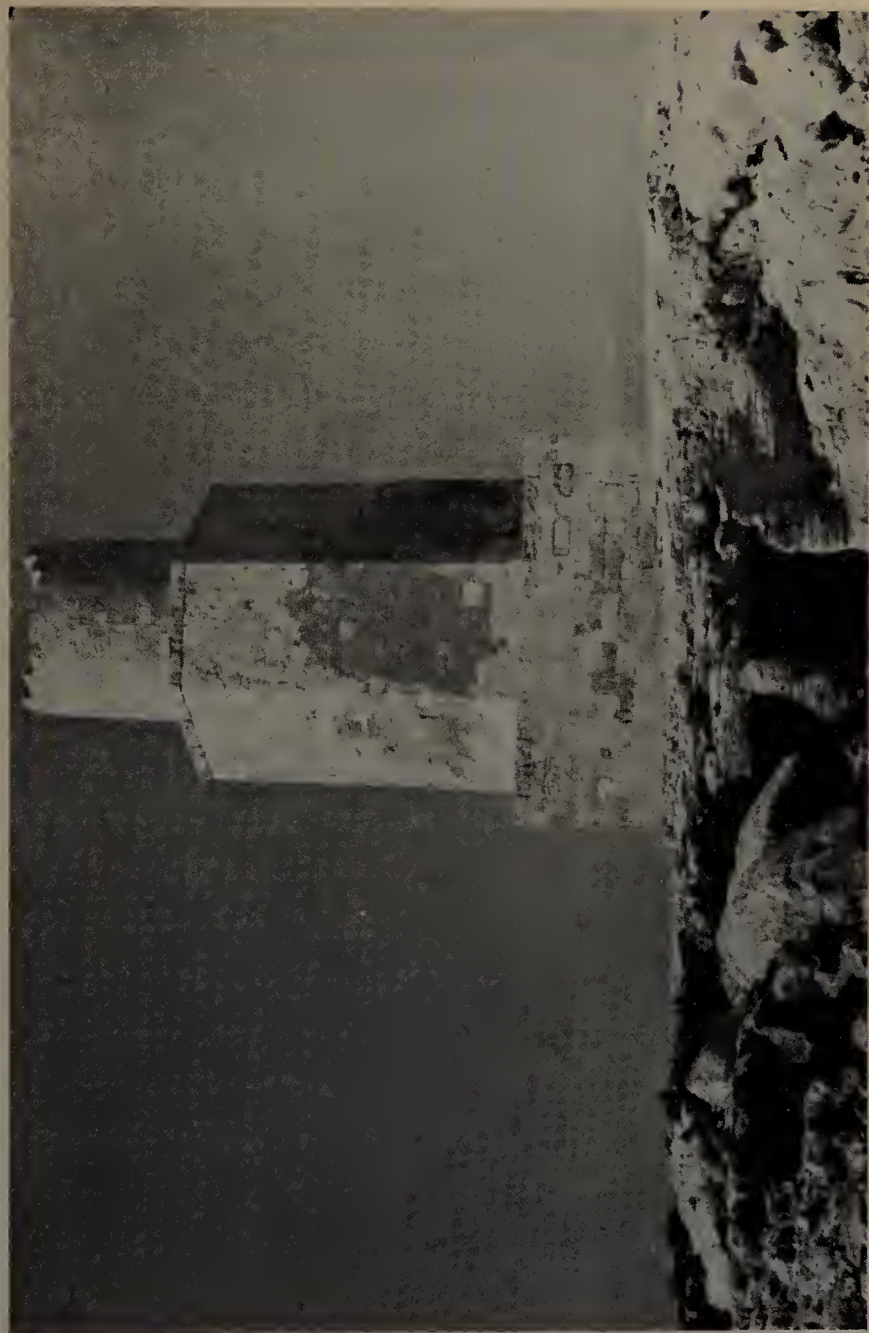[49] DeCosson, pp. 131–135.

FIG. 1. The restored Tower of Abusir.

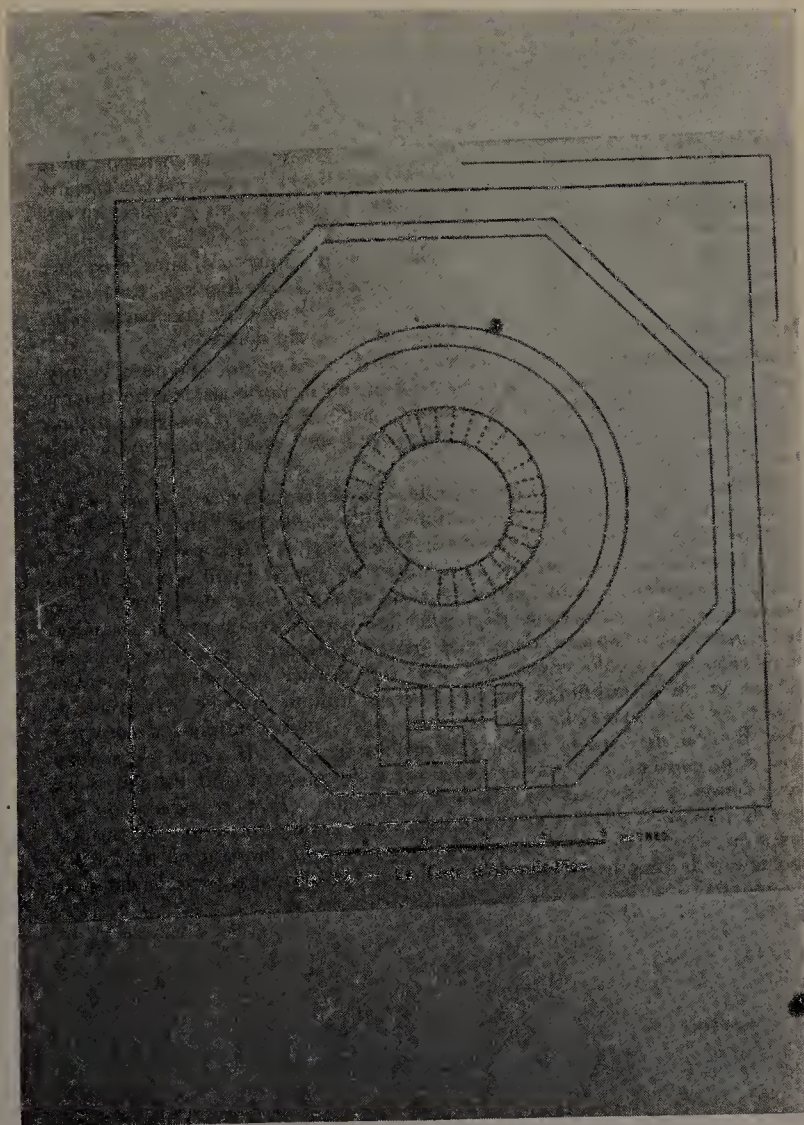Fig. 2. The Tower of Abusir before the restoration.

FIG. 3. Plan of the Tower of Abusir after Adriani.

Fig. 4. The pits of the cemetery next to the Tower, and the pylons and temple enclosure from a distance.
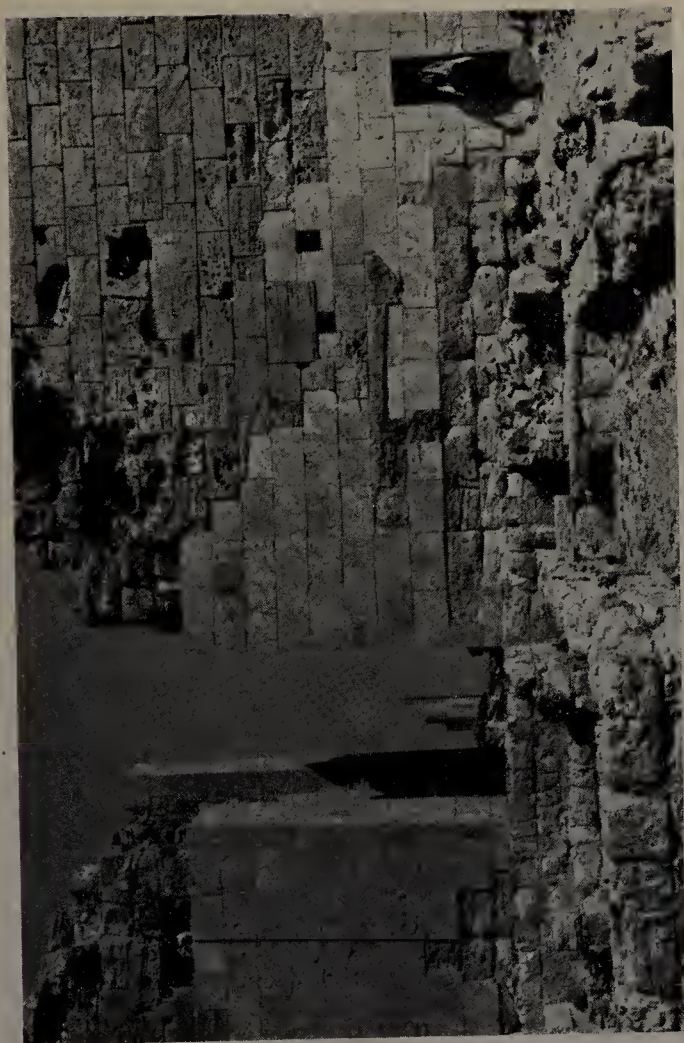
Fig. 5. In the foreground the church with its apse almost blocking the east gate from inside the enclosure. The Tower is seen from a distance.

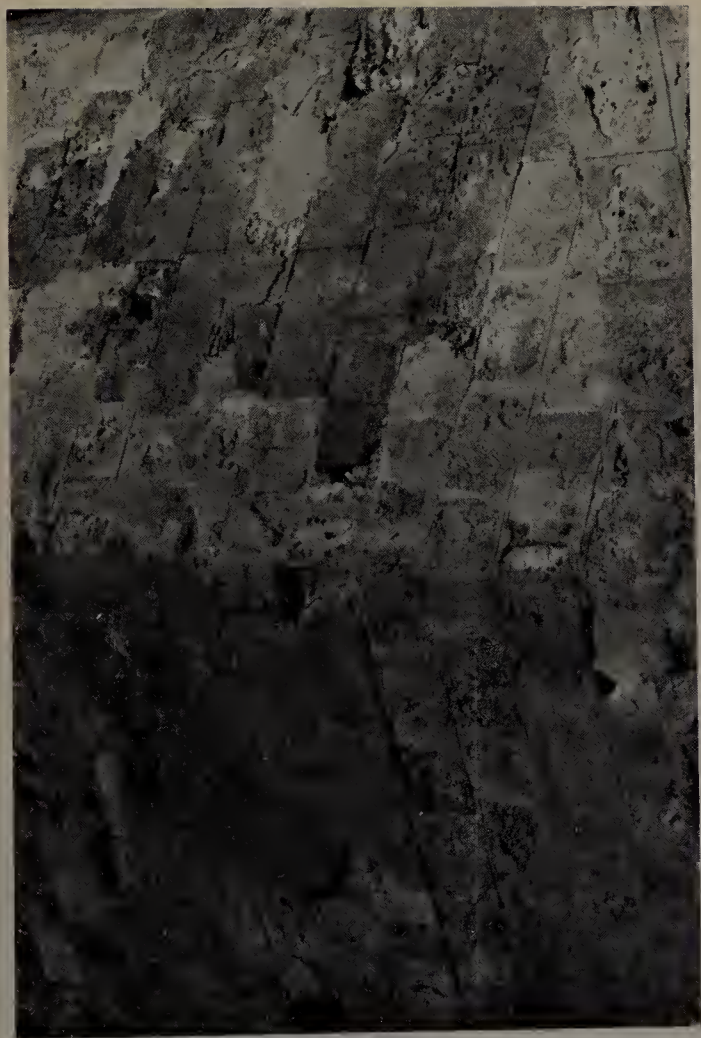Fig. 6. Temple enclosure, showing Ashlar masonry (smooth surface of blocks).

FIG. 7. The Tower, showing alternate courses of headers and stretchers and smooth surface of blocks.

Fig. 8. The Theater of Amman, showing alternate courses of headers and stretchers in the back face of the *scaenae frons*.

some danger in antiquity for night navigation, there are no remains of towers like that of Abusir. Even in the literary sources, there is no mention whatever of the existence of any lighthouse along the lake or its islands. Why, then, would Taposiris alone out of all these towns possess a lighthouse for her lake port?

Now, if this tower was erected for sea navigation and was used as a beacon tower burning all night to warn mariners of the rocky headland on which the neighbouring temple stands, or if it were one of a series of lighthouses extending all the way from Alexandria to Cyrene, one would expect to find other towers along this part of the African coast at least close to the areas where submerged ridges are found.[50] We know, for example, as understood from the warning which Julius Caesar gave to the Rhodian captain, Euphranor, on entering the port of Eunostos in Alexandria,[51] that in this port there were ridges and dykes belonging to the ancient port of Pharos, lying submerged under the water.[52] These submerged ridges and dykes represented a menace to navigation. At Agami, too (the ancient Chersonese), west of Alexandria, there are such natural submerged rocks.[53] But in spite of all these submerged rocks and dykes, which are not only found in and near Alexandria but in other places along the African coast from Alexandria to Cyrene, there is no reference in the literary sources to any remains of any tower except that at Abusir. This shows clearly that the Tower of Abusir was not meant to be a beacon tower or a lighthouse for sea navigation.

Similarly, the tower could not have been used as a signal tower to heliograph messages, decrees, and orders,[54] because for such a purpose more than one tower was needed to receive and pass the messages. The present remains do not show that there were any such towers between Alexandria and Cyrene, apart from Pharos. Even if the Pharos was strong enough to send the messages to Abusir (a distance of more than 50 kilometers away), as understood from the statement of Josephus,[55] the tower of Abusir would have been unable to answer back except with the help of intermediary towers between Abusir and Alexandria in order to pass the word. Such towers do not exist

[50] Diodorus, too, said that there was no safe harbor on the coast except at Alexandria (cf. Scholtz, p. 20).

[51] M. Jondet, p. 71. Jondet refers also to Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, vol. II.

[52] Jondet, p. 14. [53] Scholtz, p. 20.

[54] Forster, pp. 16, 133–137, 194; DeCosson, pp. 112, 114.

[55] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* V: 3; *Ant. Jud.* XVI: 5, 24; Bernard, p. 109.

among the ruins of the archaeological sites between the two cities.[56]

An inscribed painted tomb with a fresco of a lighthouse and the inscription "ΦAPOC" was discovered at Taposiris Magna.[57] This was one of the reasons which made Thiersch believe that the Tower of Abusir was a lighthouse. However, I cannot see how this discovery can have a bearing on the nature of the Tower of Abusir. The inscription and the illustration were not attached to the tower, nor did they belong to the tomb on which the tower is centered. Nor does the illustration resemble the Tower of Abusir in form, although it has similarities with the Pharos. It shows, in fact, an attempt to represent the Ptolemaic wonder of Alexandria in painting. In the illustration, as in the Pharos of Alexandria, the walls are pierced by windows, a feature which is missing in the Tower of Abusir. Since lighthouses are used by human beings, and since in the Pharos of Alexandria communication between the ground and the top had to be continuous, especially for the transport of fuel to the top, windows were much needed as lightwells in daytime. The Tower of Abusir, on the other hand, being centered on top of a large-chambered tomb, did not need such windows since it had to do with the dead. The illustration, however, had the inscription "ΦAPOC" attached to it, which referred to the Pharos of Alexandria, if the illustration belonged to the Hellenistic period or meant any lighthouse in general, if it was later in date. In either case, this could account for the existence of windows in the illustration. On epigraphical grounds the inscription "ΦAPOC" could belong to the Hellenistic or Roman epochs.[58]

[56] See DeCosson, "Mareotis" for the antiquities of Dekheila, Chersonese, Sidi Kreer, and other sites which fall between Alexandria and Taposiris.

[57] Thiersch, p. 30, and Abb. 48.

[58] I am greatly indebted to Professor G. Bowersock of Harvard University for his remarks on the use of the word "ΦAPOC" in the Hellenistic period to mean the Pharos of Alexandria and in later periods to mean any lighthouse. See *Anth. Pal.* 9.671; 11, 117.

The lunate sigma "C," is found in papyri as early as the third century B.C.; see C. H. Roberts *Greek Literary Hands* (*350 B.C.–A.D. 400*) (Oxford 1955), p. 2. In inscriptions belonging to the Hellenistic period, see L. Robert, *Inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1936), pp. 120, 121; Ch. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Berlin, 1969), p. 21, Text nr. 1, Taf. 1. The lunate sigma is more common in inscriptions in Roman and Coptic times, while the old form of sigma "Σ" is common in inscriptions in Hellenistic times; see G. Oliverio, *Le Stele di Tolemeo Neoteros re di Cirene* (Bergamo 1932), p. 64, Tav. VIII, Fig. 13, Tav. VII, Figs. 10, 11; U. Hausman, *Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archaeologie* (Munich 1969), Fig. 67; O. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Bonnae 1913), pp. 40–47.

Had the Tower of Abusir been used as a watchtower, as DeCosson and Forster believe,[59] it would have been intended mainly to guard the country and to warn Alexandria, its capital, against infiltrators and any invasion coming from the west and the Libyan Desert. But since in the Graeco-Roman period, to which the tower belongs, Egypt and Cyrene were governed by the same rulers (i.e. the Ptolemies[60] since Alexander the Great and then by the Roman emperors[61]), it would have been more reasonable to have several such towers scattered along the western coast from Alexandria to Cyrene in order to give an early and quick alarm to the capital. But since there is no indication to show that any such towers ever existed in this area, one really doubts if the Tower of Abusir was meant to be a watchtower.

But if it was decided to have only one watchtower along the coast, Abusir, being so close to Alexandria, would not have been the most appropriate location for such an early alarm. Undoubtedly it would have been more suitable to erect such a tower near the border at Cyrene where such attacks were expected since Cyrene and Egypt were under the same rule. At least, it should have been erected at some distance away from Alexandria (at Paraetonium, for example).

Even if it had been found that Abusir was the most suitable location for erecting the watchtower, it was still necessary to have an open space toward the west in front of the tower, as is customary for any watch tower. This open space would enable the guards (looking for infiltrators or for any attack from the west) to have a good view and a clear outlook on the lands stretching before them. But at Abusir (Figs. 4, 5) the high pylons and the vast enclosure of the Temple of Osiris would undoubtedly have hampered the free and open view toward the west, if the guards and the watchmen were ever stationed on the tower. If the tower had really been built in order to be used as a watchtower, it would have been more efficient to erect west of the

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[59] Forster, pp. 16, 133–137, 194; DeCosson, pp. 112ff.

[60] E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (Methuen, London 1914), pp. 1, 9, 10, 22, 25–27, 377, 380: From the time of Alexander till the conquest of Egypt by Caesar Octavianus, when the forces of Antony in the countries of Cyrenaica and Syria declared for Caesar, Egypt and Cyrene were under the rule of the Ptolemies. Since the conquest of Octavianus, all these countries became subject to Rome.

[61] See 60 above. See also J. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 3rd ed. (Methuen, London 1924), pp. 31, 146. Egypt and Cyrene remained under the Romans from Augustus till Byzantine times.

temple and not east of it since, as explained below, it is later in date than the pylons and the temple enclosure.[62]

If it was found necessary to have a watchtower at Abusir, there would have been no need to have a special tower erected for that purpose because the high pylons of the temple would have been suitable for the task. For all these reasons I do not think that the Tower of Abusir was meant to be a watchtower, a signal or beacon tower, or a lighthouse.

There is one opinion left concerning the function of the tower, and this holds that the tower was a funerary monument.[63]

Thiersch and Breccia[64] were among the first adherents of this view before they came later to consider the building a lighthouse. The tower was taken as a funerary monument because it stands in the middle of a cemetery. Moreover, it is centered on a big funerary subterranean hypogeum[65] (Fig. 1) and is apparently connected with it, as Scholz[66] and Breccia state. In addition to these reasons, Adriani,[67] who concurs in this view, thinks that a rich man of Taposiris may have wanted to have the funerary monument of his tomb in the form of the Pharos, as in the case of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius in Rome, which resembles the Pyramids of Egypt.

This view, it seems to me, can best be accounted for if we are to link it with that of Scholz,[68] who thinks that the tower belongs to the temple and that both of them were dedicated to the god Osiris.[69] In that case, the cemetery appears to be of the utmost importance. I find indeed that this link is depicted at Taposiris in many ways.

[62] For the dating of the pylons and the enclosure of the temple as well as the tower, see below in the text; see also Thiersch, p. 30; Adriani, pp. 131, 133, 139, and addenda.

[63] Minutoli, pp. 41ff; Pagenstecher, pp. 115, 116.

[64] Thiersch, p. 210; Breccia, p. 343; see Breccia in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 19 (1922), p. 146; Adriani, p. 133 n. 2.

[65] Pagenstecher, pp. 115ff. The funerary hypogeum was described by Thiersch and Adriani; see Thiersch, p. 210, Abb. 391; Adriani, pp. 136–138. The hypogeum is cut in the rock. It is composed of a great rectangular vestibule and a greater square funerary chamber. The chamber has in the middle of its three walls of the north, east, and west sides three great niches with funerary seats cut in the rock.

[66] Scholtz, p. 21; Breccia, p. 343.   [67] Adriani, p. 138.

[68] Scholtz, p. 21.

[69] For the identification of the temple as that of Osiris, see Kees in PW, col. 2259; DeCosson, p. 109; Breccia, pp. 338, 339; Forster, p. 194; Adriani, p. 139; Ward-Perkins, "The Monastery of Teposiris Magna," in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 39 (1956), pp. 51ff.

Like most of the cemeteries,[70] the one at Abusir in which the tower stands lies outside the city of Taposiris and at about half a kilometer away from the Temple of Osiris. Yet the most interesting feature about this fact lies in the gates of the enclosure of the temple. Although the temple has gates on the north, south, and east sides of its enclosure, we find that the eastern gate, which faces the cemetery, is the most important one. It is even more important than the gate which opens on the city and its lake port. The east gate is not only wider than the other gates but it is the only one which is flanked by two huge pylons. The pylons are equipped with internal stairs reaching the top of the pylons and the enclosure. The pylons are, moreover, fitted with mast posts for banners on the side which faces the cemetery.[71] To emphasize the importance of the cemetery a road was built leading directly from that eastern gate to the cemetery. All these features show clearly how important the cemetery was to the deity to whom the temple was dedicated.

A further proof to that effect can be found in the construction of the ancient church which was built within the enclosure of the temple (Fig. 5). When Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, the early Christians wanted to take vengeance on the pagan religions which existed before. Knowing the importance of the cemetery with respect to the worship of Osiris which took place in that temple of Abusir, the early Christians built their church within the enclosure of the temple, with the apse almost blocking the main broad eastern gate of the enclosure which opens on the road leading to the cemetery where the tower stands.[72] Thus the connection between the temple and the cemetery was almost cut. On the other hand, the Christians left the other small gates which opened on the sea and the city free and unhampered.

The importance given to the cemetery in the worship of Osiris is further illustrated by the terracotta sarcophagi of anthropoid form which were discovered in this cemetery.[73] The sarcophagi may have belonged to Egyptians.[74] We know that anthropoid sarcophagi are connected with the worship of Osiris since they have taken their form

[70] Strabo tells us that the necropolis of Alexandria fell outside the city. This was proved by the discovery of the cemeteries of Schatbi, Hadara, and Gabbari; see Strabo, XVII: 1.10. Also, the necropolis of Gerasa fell outside the city walls; see the map of the city in Kraeling's *Gerasa* cited above.

[71] Forster, p. 196; Breccia (1922), p. 339; De Cosson, p. 114.

[72] Ward-Perkins, pp. 47ff; Breccia, p. 339.

[73] Adriani, p. 136 and pl. LIII, Fig. 4; Breccia, p. 344.

[74] Adriani, pp. 136.

from the mummy shape of the statues of Osiris and the other representations in art of that Egyptian god. This shows clearly that the cemetery was connected with the god Osiris, to whom the neighboring temple was dedicated.

Because the cemetery remained important till the Christian period, and since the tower was built earlier, during the Graeco-Roman epoch, the tower which stands in the center of that cemetery must therefore have been a funerary monument. The funerary nature of the tower conforms well with all constructions in the cemetery around it. The funerary pits, sarcophagi, the funerary chambers which are dug in the hill with their loculi, wells and cisterns, have all the funerary features characteristic of cemeteries of the Graeco-Roman period as in the cemeteries of Alexandria.[75] Funerary monuments were also common in the Ptolemaic period. Although we have not found another funerary monument taking the shape of a lighthouse, yet such monuments take distinctive forms in the Necropolis of Schatbi in Alexandria, for example.[76]

Thus I believe that an important personality in the Graeco-Roman epoch to which both the tower and the temple belong wanted to draw attention to his tomb by erecting a funerary monument above it. He not only placed this monument as high on the crest of the hill as the temple, but also had it built in the form of the famous Pharos. This outstanding funerary monument, because of its unusual form and its location, must undoubtedly have emphasized the importance of the cemetery. This emphasis was in harmony with the important position which both the temple and the cemetery held in the city of Orisis (namely, Taposiris).

The dating forms the second problem in connection with the Tower of Abusir. Scholars give the tower various dates, ranging from Hellenistic to Roman times.[77] Thiersch, for example, puts its construction in the first century of the Ptolemaic rule,[78] but Adriani[79] thinks that the tower was built much later.

Thiersch based his dating on the method of construction. He found, for example, that polished rectangular blocks of white limestone of a medium size (1 to 1.10 × 0, 50 m) were used for building the tower,

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[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 139, pl. LII, 1.

[76] Breccia, "La Necropoli di Sciatbi," I, in (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes*), Musée d'Alexandrie (le Caire 1912), II, pls. XVII, 17, 18, XVIII, 19.

[77] Scholz, p. 21; Pacho, p. 6; Ward-Perkins, p. 53, DeCosson, p. 110.

[78] Thiersch, p. 30.

[79] Adriani, pp. 131, 132, 138, 139, and addenda.

the pylons and the temple enclosure. The blocks were laid in a layer of white-greyish mortar[80] and covered with a thin coat of strong white plaster. Similar stones laid in such a layer of mortar were used in the construction of Hellenistic buildings of early date such as the socle of the Pharos of Alexandria.[81] The stones used for the tower and the temple were cut from the neighboring quarry,[82] which falls almost halfway between the two buildings.

Since the temple was assigned to the fourth century B.C. at the beginning of the Hellenistic period,[83] the tower subsequently, as Thiersch believes, ought to belong to the early period of the Ptolemaic rule.

Adriani, on the other hand, relied for his late Hellenistic or early Roman dating for the tower on the examination of the pottery which was found in the cemetery, inasmuch as he and Breccia had a chance to make some soundings and excavations at Abusir.[84] Adriani concluded that the tower must be later than some Hellenistic tombs in this cemetery since the northern corner of the tower surmounts part of a pit tomb. Thus we have a *terminus post quem* regarding the dating of the tower.[85]

The tower belongs, as Adriani states, to those big funerary monuments which are often formed of three large sections superimposed on one another and which spread in Hellenistic and Roman times.[86]

In my opinion the tower cannot be as early as Thiersch took it to be, because, even if its blocks are equal in size to those of the temple enclosure, the method used for the construction of the temple enclosure is different from that used for the tower. In the temple enclosure (Fig. 6) and pylons we have ashlar masonry. The stones were cut into polished rectangular blocks of equal size. They were laid horizontally into courses of stretchers. The vertical joints between the blocks fall almost on the middle of the blocks below them. The blocks all have a smooth plain face. This method is common in Greek constructions of the Classical period and during the Hellenistic epoch.

The same method of construction was used in the cella wall of the early fifth century B.C. Temple of Aphaia at Aegina,[87] and in the con-

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[80] Thiersch, pp. 28, 203–205.
[81] A. Von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (Berlin 1924), p. 74.
[82] Oliver and DeCosson in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* (1938), pp. 164, 167.
[83] DeCosson, pp. 109, 110; Ward-Perkins, pp. 49, 52; Adriani, pp. 131, 139, and addenda; Thiersch, p. 207.
[84] Adriani, p. 136 and n. 2; Breccia, *Alex. ad Aeg.* pp. 339, 343.
[85] Adriani, p. 136.   [86] *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139.
[87] A. W. Lawrence, "Greek Architecture," 2nd ed. (*Pelican Hist. of Art*, 1967), pl. 38B.

struction of the fourth century B.C. Arsenal at Piraeus.[88] It is also
adopted for the Citadel Walls of the city of Philadelphia, which was
built in the third century B.C., for a Ptolemaic building in the Royal
Quarter at Alexandria[89] and for the first century B.C. Propylaea at
Eleusis.[90]

The tower, on the other hand, is built by means of courses of
headers alternating with courses of stretchers (Fig. 7). The blocks have a
smooth surface and plain face. The same method of construction is
found in many Hellenistic buildings, as in two shops in Portico B5
in the Agora of Cyrene belonging to the period between the second
half of the fourth century B.C. and the end of the third century B.C.[91]

It is clear then, that, contrary to the claims of Thiersch, ashlar
masonry was used in the construction of the temple enclosure and the
pylons but alternate courses of headers and stretchers were employed
for the tower.

We learn, however, from the following statement of Vitruvius,[92]
"*Itaque non est contemnenda Graecorum structura; utuntur e molli
calmento polita, sed cum discesserunt a quadrato, ponunt de silice seu
lapide duro ordinaria, et ita uti latericia struentes alligant eorum alternis
coriis coagmenta, et sic maxime ad aeternitatem firmas perficiunt virtutes,*"
that the Greeks at first used the ashlar method of construction; but
they later gave this method up for the use of alternate courses of
headers and stretchers as in the Tower of Abusir.[93]

This last method seems to have been used in Hellenistic constructions
especially later in that epoch as in the example of Cyrene cited above.
It was also adopted for the construction of the third century B.C. walls
of the Attic Fort at Aegosthena[94] and the Hellenistic Tower of the
city of Perge.[95]

Alternate courses of headers and stretchers were taken for Roman
Republican constructions of the second half of the first century B.C.
but seem to have gone out of use at the beginning of the first century

[88] H. Plommer, *Ancient Classical Architecture* (Longmans 1964), p. 173,
Fig. 57; Lawrence, p. 260, Fig. 147.

[89] Adriani, in *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano d'Alessandria* (35–39),
pls. VII, VIII.

[90] Lawrence, p. 221, Fig. 125.

[91] Sandro Stucchi, *L'Agora di Cirene* (Roma 1965), Fig. 83.

[92] Vitruvius, II, VIII, 5.

[93] Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. F. Granger in 2 vols., I (Loeb, 1962),
p. 113, n. 1 (written on p. 114; Vitruvius, II, VIII, 5).

[94] Lawrence, pl. 127.   [95] *Ibid.*, pl. 128.

A.D., after the Augustan Age.[96] Examples are found in the walls which belong to that period of the Roman era in the Theater of Amman (Philadelphia) such as the retaining wall of the cavea, the vaulted passages, the backwall of the stage and the northern wall of the *scaenae frons* (Fig. 8). The blocks in these constructions have mostly a smooth plain surface, although in some parts their face is somewhat roughened in the middle, leaving a plain margin. In the Augustan Age the roughened surface projects mostly in the form of a central boss within the plain margin, as in the Forum of Augustus in Rome[97] and as in the foundations of the cella of the so-called Temple of Hercules or of Zeus on the Citadel Hill of Amman. This foundation is Augustan while the later construction of that building of the Citadel Hill of Amman belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[98]

The date of the tower has, therefore, to be no earlier than the date of its prototype, the famous Pharos of Alexandria, which was built in 279[99] and no later than the Augustan Age. Yet I am in favor of the idea that the Tower of Abusir was built in the Ptolemaic period, not very long after the construction of the Pharos, perhaps during the second century B.C. or early first century B.C. for at least two reasons. The first reason is the form of the tower and its resemblance to the Pharos. The Pharos, after having been erected, evidently won the admiration of so many people that it came to be considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Therefore, soon after its construction, it became the fashion of the age and the model of other works of art, including the Tower of Abusir. That it was imitated not long after its erection and that it influenced other artistic works is a feature common to all innovations and discoveries and to outstanding structures.

The second reason is the method of construction. It may be noticed that the blocks of the stones used for the construction of the tower are not only equal in measurements to those of the fourth century B.C. temple enclosure of Taposiris but they have, like them, the smooth and plain face without any central projection or roughened surface as in the Forum of Augustus or other early Roman constructions. Thus

[96] R. Cagnat et Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine I* (Paris 1917), pp. 20, 21.

[97] L. Crema, "L'Architettura Romana" (in *Encic. Class. Sez. III*, vol. XII (Torino 1959), Fig. 3.

[98] Cf. the dating of the "Library of Philadelphia or the So-Called Temple of Hercules on the Citadel Hill of Amman," by Fawzi el Fakharani, publication of *IX Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique* (Damascus, 1969).

[99] Forster, p. 196.

the blocks of the tower should belong to that fashion of cutting the blocks smooth, as in the temple enclosure but still later than 279 B.C., the date of the construction of the Pharos.

It may also be noticed that at Villa Minore near Amalfi in Italy, which belongs to the Augustan Age, the lower steps are high but the other steps on top diminish in height as one goes up. This feature is missing in both the pylons of the temple at Abusir and in the tower. Thus the steps in the tower and the pylons imply Ptolemaic date and characteristics.

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It is clear that the Tower of Abusir was not a lighthouse, a beacon, or signal tower, and not even a watchtower. It was a mere funerary monument centered over its Ptolemaic funerary hypogeum. The tower seems to have been erected not long after the construction of its proto-type, the famous Pharos of the Ptolemies. It could thus belong to the second century B.C. or early in the next century. Because of its location high on the crest of the hill and because of its form, the tower must have served as a landmark for the city of Taposiris. It therefore gave importance not only to the tomb of that lofty personage of Taposiris who built it but it must also have drawn attention to the important cemetery of Osiris.

BENGHAZI

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. (1973)

MARY KATE BROWN — *Symbolic Lions: A Study in Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Literature*

THE peculiar ubiquity of the lion as a symbol of numinous *tremendum et majestas* in the urban society of ancient Mesopotamia presents an engaging intellectual dilemma. At first glance it appears that hardly a major god is represented in the developed pantheon to whose lions some reference, however vestigial, may not be found. Such references exist both in the extant literature and in the more silent artifacts.

The animal is closely associated, too, with the temple. He acts the guardian. He plays the gatekeeper. In the earliest periods his leonine nature is infused into the sacred building. The literature of the Akkadian period abounds with examples of the lion as a virtual "kenning" for the temples of various gods.

Objects of cult paraphernalia present no exception. Many and frequent are the beastly images adorning them. Thrones, portable altar supports, ritual basins, mace-heads, parietal decorations, door leaf pins, mounts, drawers of war chariots, all bear witness to the close association which once was felt to exist between the animal world and the divine.

The particular animal with which we are concerned is the Persian lion, *panthera leo persica*, a creature now extinct in Iraq. The audial character of the Mesopotamian encounter with this beast was early impressed upon the cultural consciousness. It determined the nature of the animal's function as a type, as a representation of a natural phenomenon, as a symbol.

Unlike the Homeric lion, the Mesopotamian animal is not characterized by significant silence. In the land between the two rivers the bull and lion are heard to bellow and roar. For this reason they act as equivalent symbols for the numinous force of the roar of the thunder.

That the lion forms more than just another everyday symbol for loud sound may be discerned from its divine attributes. The beast is a source of n i, "awesome glow," and a recipient of m e - l a m, that

peculiarly effulgent awesomeness which characterizes its bearer as more than human. Thus the lion represents a palpable presentation of the *mysterium tremendum* of divinity. Moreover, there is in Mesopotamia independent evidence that loud sound and numinous sheen are closely associated. Both characterize the effective immanence of the divine. We may cite as an example the lines from the Old Babylonian Myth of Anzu:

> The father, their councillor, Enlil, was silent,
> Sacred splendor ebbed, silence reigned.
> The Igigi, one and all, had become confused.
> The holy of holies had stripped off its
> sacred splendor.

This, however, does not tell the whole story. The symbolic lion is also seen as a source of luxuriance. Attraction is, of course, itself an attribute of the numinous. As van der Leeuw has rightly said, "In the human soul, then, power awakens a profound feeling of awe which manifests itself both as fear and as being attracted." Yet there is an additional factor that reinforces the lion's fascinating aspect. This is the animal's use as a symbol of the roar of the thunderstorm which brings the rains to Iraq and produces the luxuriance of the plant life which clothes the steppes in the spring. Our investigation would seem to indicate that it is to this dual understanding of the thunderstorm's force as a harbinger of both luxuriance of plant life and utter destruction that the gods of the developed pantheon owe their leonine forms. The lion is used almost exclusively as a metaphor for divinities of storm and flood. The god Ninurta/Ningirsu and the goddess Inanna present the most striking examples.

The extension of the lionine striking force of the storm god's essence may be observed in the heraldic composition formed by the lion-headed bird Imdugud, an early non-human form of Ninurta/Ningirsu, hovering over two lions. These creatures, frightful allomorphs of the "force du frappe" of the divine bird, attack his enemies.

This military aspect of the stormy lion is most readily seen in the Sumerian term for warrior. This is composed of the signs u r s a g and probably represents a partitive appositional construction meaning "lion-head" specifically. Here then we have an example of *pars pro toto*, the head for the whole beast. For archaeological and literary evidence indicate that the Mesopotamian warrior did indeed dress for battle in the skin of a lion.

The assumption of the status and functions of the "warrior," however, is expressed in sociopolitical terms. The leonine warrior

represents the application of legitimately constituted coercive power granted by a superior and exercised upon those who are styled in the literature "rebellious countries." Thus the lion-skinned host of the king roaring its battle cry as it strikes the rebellious land may be compared to the god Ninurta, the warrior of Sumer par excellence, whose onslaught is heralded by the thunderous roar of the leonine storm. The army then is the lion, it is the loud-roaring storm, it is the essence of Ninurta. In this it possesses no small aspect of divinity.

Next in rank to the gods, or perhaps coeval with them as a sign to the people of the immanence of the divine, stands the Sumerian temple. It is thus not altogether surprising that we find this sacred structure upon whose fortunes the life of the country was felt to depend called "lion." We propose that this usage results from the fact that the temple combines in its essence both the *tremendum* and the *fascinans*. The lion gives form to both these aspects of the divine. Further, there is virtual identification between the temple and its god, certainly during the Akkadian period, and probably from earliest times. Thus, when the Inanna temple at Akkad is called "lion charging a wild bull" and the remainder of the poem represents the rebellious country as the parallel object of this hostile action, we may see the goddess Inanna herself, representing the fortunes of the house of Sargon, attacking a rebellious country.

Moreover, when we see depicted upon a Proto-literate seal from Uruk in the Newell collection (Newell 669) part of a ritual representing the infusion of leonine character into the temple the results of which are the provision of fertility in field and fold, we are reminded that the lady of Uruk, Inanna, is from the earliest times a belit-seri, a goddess who provides the rains which produce the herbage upon which the shepherds of the area and their flocks depend. For this reason she herself, as well as her temple, is styled "lioness of the gods."

We may then perhaps say that the temple, standing as a central symbol in ancient Mesopotamia, is a lion because it, like the god it stands for, combines in its essence those elements characteristic of the numinous, the *fascinans* and the *tremendum*. These are given form in the symbolic lion.

Harvard University   Degree in Classical Archaeology 1973

Jeffrey James Henderson — *Aristophanes Obscenus: Sexual and Scatological Language in Aristophanes*

Obscene humor has always been something of an embarrassment to writers on Old Comedy, from Aristotle, Plutarch, and Longinus to

scholars of the present day. Everyone knows that Aristophanes and his fellow comic poets included in their works a great abundance of obscene words, allusions, double-entendres, and visual bawdiness, but to this day there has been no study which attempts comprehensively to elucidate, evaluate, or even discuss the nature and function of sexual and scatological language in Old Comedy. Contributing to what appears to be a natural disinclination of scholars to study Aristophanic obscenity is the widespread notion that none of this material has any relevance to the actual meaning and value of the plays: obscenity was a concession to the groundlings; it was traditional (and thus, we must suppose, indispensable); an inheritance from lower forms of art (the so-called Megarian or Dorian Farce) or from the cults; it was used to sweeten moral messages; and so on. But a thorough study of all the evidence reveals that obscenity in Aristophanes is almost always integrally connected with the main themes of the plays; it is an important part of the physical action, the development of plots, and the characterization of personae, and can no more be excised from the plays than can any other major dramatic ingredient. Far from being merely a highbrow's concession to the rabble, the obscene jokes and allusions in Old Comedy often reach a level of sophistication equal to the cleverest allusions to poetry and philosophy and are written as much for δεξιοὶ θεαταί as for the groundlings.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to offer as comprehensive a consideration of sexual and scatological language in Aristophanes as seems feasible in the present state of our knowledge. There are three parts.

Part I, which is theoretical, appraises the nature of obscenity as it appears in Old Comedy and attempts to understand the circumstances and ideas which led to the elevation of obscene language to the prominent position it holds in Aristophanes' artistic repertoire. It is found that the Greeks had no special words for obscene language as distinguished from any language which was considered insulting or in any way socially unacceptable. In contrast, our concept of the obscene derives from the Latin *obscenus,* which in the moral realm meant exactly what most of us mean when we say obscene: filthy, indecent, offensive, possessed of the power to stain or contaminate. For the Greeks of the fifth century "obscene" words were not intrinsically dirty or staining or immoral, but connected with a feeling of shame which comes from one's being exposed or listening to words which expose what should be covered up.

Since obscene words expose what is usually concealed, obscenity

is by nature extroverted. In this it differs from pornography, which is introverted in that it aims at the construction of private erotic dream-worlds and fantasies which avoid exposure. Pornography is thus unsuited to social events like the Greek theater and must be enjoyed in the privacy of one's armchair or in a darkened theater. The effect of obscenity, on the other hand, is to break through social taboos rather than escape them in fantasy. The purpose of the obscenities in Greek comedy, whether outright obscene words or comically disguised references, was not to stimulate the audience sexually but to open the sexual and excremental areas of human activity to public view. As we have seen, these words and expressions were not felt to be dirty in and of themselves, but subject only to feelings of shame, modesty, and a certain taboo. To utter them was verbally to expose the parts to which they refer. But to whose shame? Who was exposed? Not the audience, certainly; they suffered nothing more by listening to obscenities than they suffered by looking at the exceedingly graphic pictures of sexual acts of all kinds which were depicted routinely and openly on vases throughout the fifth century. Unlike the Romans and ourselves, to whom obscene words are automatically offensive because of their intrinsically evil, staining, and dirty nature, the Greeks who watched Old Comedy took great pleasure in them; their ugliness was no less laughable than, say, the wrinkled face of an old hag. The reason is that they could in the theater safely watch someone *else* being exposed, someone *else* losing his protective cover of modesty and shame. The unfortunate victims of this public exposure were in fact (a) the characters on stage and (b) other, extradramatic targets of the poet's attacks whose exposure the poet felt would amuse the audience.

The audience is thus free to enjoy the exposure of other people, particularly people whose political, intellectual, or even divining authority in the community is so great that open attack or ridicule in any other context would be out of the question. Old Comedy boasts an incredible abundance of obscene jokes and situations precisely because the areas of sexuality and scatology in comedy offer especially deep and satisfying pleasure, and thus well serve the release of hostile or sexual aggressiveness through laughter. The words and situations were themselves innocuous so long as the audience was merely a spectator; obscenity was not considered inherently evil or offensive. It was the shame of exposure that made obscenity obscene for the Greeks; the goal of unmasking and degrading invented comic figures (the Sausage-Seller, Strepsiades, Lampito, Kinesias and Myrrhine, or Blepyrus) and real-life targets of hostility (Cleon, Cleisthenes, or Ariphrades)

made obscenity an indispensable and crucial mechanism in an art form whose most notable function was ridicule, satire, parody, and caricature.

A careful and detailed analysis of the particular psychological and comedic mechanisms involved in these processes accompanies a discussion of the essentially negative, critical, and aggressive *ethos* of Old Comedy.

The remainder of Part I consists of a thorough examination of all the evidence concerning obscenity in the cults (particularly those of Demeter and Dionysus); the connections between the nature and function of obscenity in archaic Ionian iambos and what we find in Old Comedy; a consideration of the hypotheses concerning the existence of Dorian comedy; and an examination of obscenity in Attic satyr-drama. It is concluded that the dynamics of obscenity in cult and the iambos parallel those of obscenity in Old Comedy. The cults seem to have contributed to the growth of obscenity as a standard and accepted element in the comic performances: the use of obscene language to expose individuals and thus to make them comic was a standard feature of the cults as well as the comedies, and there can be little doubt that the suspension of the ordinary taboos and restrictions of society in cult prepared the way for the same extraordinary freedom enjoyed by comedy as part of the artistic side of the Dionysian festivals. The origins, development, and social function of the Ionic iambos, of which Archilochus, Hipponax, and Semonides are the chief representatives, run parallel to those of Old Comedy. All the elements are there: personal invective, literary attacks, parody, obscene exposure, flights of fantasy. The numerous connections (already noticed in antiquity) between the writers of Old Comedy and the iambic poets suggest that the development of the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα at Athens was heavily influenced by these Ionian models. Comparison reveals that this close connection was especially true in the field of obscene language.

On the other hand, no evidence at all can be adduced to show that Dorian comedy (if it even existed) had anything to do with obscenity in Attic comedy. The obscenities in satyr-drama are shown to be of a different kind, and to serve a different function, from those in iambos and Old Comedy.

Part II attempts to identify and discuss typologically all the obscenities to be found in extant poetry of Aristophanes and the fragments of the other writers of Old Comedy. There are chapters on the sexual organs, σχήματα συνουσίας, scatological humor, and homosexuality.

Part III consists of essays examining the function of obscenity in the individual plays: which characters use obscene language and why;

what kinds of obscenities are used and when; how obscene language contributes to the main themes and issues of the play.

T. WADE RICHARDSON — *Interpolations in Petronius*

This dissertation is an extensive but still preliminary study of some problems of form and content in the *Satyricon* that allow in their proposed solutions the formulation of a comprehensive theory of interpolation; it falls into two parts, the first being a discursive analysis of the textual setting, and the second comprising a list, with discussion, of suggested interpolations in print to the present time.

Part I offers in four chapters a textual history of the work, reviewing through three distinct phases — Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Dark Ages, and the Carolingian Era and beyond, the progress of Petronian interest. By such a method the writer has wished to illuminate the form and character of the *Satyricon* in the respective eras, seeing this as establishing as firm a basis as possible for interpolation-related conjecture.

First to be treated is the question of the autograph's length. Pertinent evidence is not voluminous, but a review of the references to book-numbering has, with concessions to probability, for the writer confirmed the visualization of work longer than our present text by eight or ten times, and divided into perhaps twenty or twenty-four books.

Then follows a chronological discussion of the Petronian testimonia. General findings based on their witness are that Petronius was cited infrequently in the early centuries of our era, but that interest steadily increased until the sixth century A.D. From this and from the nature of the citations it was concluded that a complete or near-complete text was extant till then. In the seventh century, evidence for a text longer than the present one is sharply reduced, but exists in Isidore of Seville. Thereafter, it was found, Petronius tapers off, and by the end of that century is silenced until Carolingian times.

The two conflicting theories of the chronology of textual attenuation, a major problem, could then be discussed. Scholarly opinion has generally favored, with Bücheler, the view that the three limbs of the present *Satyricon*, *L*, *O*, and *H*, are excerpts taken from the autograph as far back as the fourth century A.D. This lodges the archetype (ω) in antiquity. The writer has hoped to show by his study of the

testimonia that this is less probable than an alternative: a work more eroded by time and curtailed by suppression, accident, and neglect, than preserved by selective excerption: elaborated on and extended is Konrad Müller's ten-year-old theory of a damaged but reasonably consecutive remnant seen through a recension by a Carolingian scholar.

The ninth century now becomes the focus of concern. Intense Petronian interest at this time, as manifested by the creation of *B* and probably *L* and *O*, and by Heiric of Auxerre, points to the contemporaneous discovery of a fragment, the hypothesized damaged remnant which the writer terms the pre-archetype.

Interpolations within our present text, and occurring within the archetype, have been detected in numbers through four centuries of study. (A brief history of speculation on interpolations is provided.) But only in the last decades have scholars becomes aware that they might be systematic enough to suggest a methodological pattern, and, consequently, a single authorship. A principal interpolator is thus in prospect, and the most suitable candidate is a Carolingian scholar who interpolated his discovery, the pre-archetype, and made other adjustments on the way to creating two copies, λ and ψ, in which the archetype is discerned. Konrad Müller, it will be noted, has provided the framework for the writer's argument, and while the writer has differed in points of detail from that scholar and has developed many native strands for which he solely is responsible, such a theory was deemed to provide the most satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon of interpolation.

Part II contains a list of suspected interpolations. Since the writer has hoped to make this section above all a useful tool of reference, completeness was favored over selectivity, and in excess of three hundred suggestions have resulted. Each example is provided with an *apparatus criticus* and a portion of discussion, ending with a decision whether to preserve or athetize. Several categories of interpolation come forward, and while the writer has used some extensively in cross-reference for identification purposes, he has refrained for the present from drawing up a testing-scheme to which each example might have been applied. (A broad classification guide is, however, offered in the Appendix.) For there was a methodological difficulty that seemed to warn of the danger of establishing "proofs" by such a scheme: there were too many exceptions. Thus it was found best to judge each suspected interpolation first on its own merits, although suggesting in cross-reference useful general criteria which could serve to minimize the role of subjectivity. Nevertheless, the value of accepting in general terms the validity of such a scheme is apparent: it confirms for the

majority of interpolations a conscious design and unity of authorship. In future studies the writer hopes to bring other evidence to bear on the detection of interpolations.

There are two indexes. The first tabulates all examples, with an asterisk signifying a preference to retain; the second lists all the words within the suspected interpolations.

The writer has wished to suggest by the present study that neither conservatism, which tended to be sentimental, nor radicalism, which tended to be cavalier, would help the text of Petronius. With the concept of interpolation basically sound, the answer lay in stern selectivity.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1973

DAVID SOREN — *Roman Pottery from Utica (Tunisia): Its Significance for North African Ceramics and for the Urban Development of the Site in Imperial Times*

In the years since the first systematic excavation of North African sites began, detailed studies of pottery have been the exception rather than the rule. Even though such scholars as Waage, Lamboglia, Salomonson, and Hayes have dealt with North African sigillata, almost nothing has been written on the native non-exported wares, particularly in the early imperial period.

From 1969 to 1972, limited excavations were conducted at Utica to provide dating evidence for many lifted mosaics. The result was a wide selection of pottery and oil lamps dating from the first to fourth centuries A.D. This evidence provided new insights concerning the growth and decline of the city and its relationship to Rome and to other North African communities.

According to Pliny, Utica was founded 1178 years before he wrote his *Natural History* and rapidly became the second most important Punic city after Carthage, sharing the fortunes of that city until the Third Punic War. At this time the Uticans switched their allegiance and allowed their city to become a base of Roman operations. The destruction of Carthage left Utica as the number one city of Africa Proconsularis, and the city was the scene of many important struggles in the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar. In 36 B.C. Augustus conferred *municipium* status on the city and it became a *colonia* under Hadrian.

Pottery sequences found in the course of excavation make it possible to recognize four major periods of development in the history of the city: (1) the early first century A.D., (2) the late first to early second

century, (3) the second half of the second century, and (4) the fourth
century. Each of these periods has particular characteristics and each
can be shown to relate to contemporary developments in other areas
of North Africa and in Rome.

The dissertation includes a detailed pottery and lamp catalogue
and a discussion of discoveries made concerning common wares, thin-
walled vase, Arretine and North African sigillata. Of particular interest
is the discovery that the common ware, formerly believed to have
been slipped, is actually of pink fabric which becomes white on the
surface when exposed to flame. Also of interest to Arretine scholars
is the dating of Lucius Rasinius Pisanus to ca. A.D. 50–70 on the basis
of two well-stratified examples. Finally, a date of A.D. 150–200 may
be given to sigilla examples of John Hayes forms 6B and 11 (with
unique black fired exterior).

Utica, like many other cities in the Medjerda valley, was important
to Rome because of products such as wheat and olive oil. As the for-
tunes of Rome rose and fell, so did the fortunes of her dependencies
in North Africa, especially after Sicily became overcultivated in the
first century B.C. The lack of building in the third century A.D. and the
brief revival in the time of Constantine and again under Constantius II
can be well-documented throughout the empire. In fact, the thesis
concludes that Utica is in many ways a microcosm of Rome and much
of North Africa from the first to fifth centuries A.D.

University of Missouri   Degree in Classical Archaeology 1973

J. M. I. West — *Uranius*

This man wrote a work entitled the *Arabica*, wherein he gave an
account of the lands occupied by Arabs. The *Arabica* survives in thirty-
two fragments, thirty-one of which are contained in the *Ethnica* of
Stephanus of Byzantium, compiled in the sixth century of this era;
the other fragment is embedded in the twelfth century *Chiliades* of
John Tzetzes. A text of the *Arabica* appears in *Die Fragmente der
griechischen Historiker* of F. Jacoby, No. 675; it is contained in one
of the two most recent volumes, for which Jacoby did not have enough
time to provide commentaries before he died.

Beyond the fact of his authorship of the *Arabica*, Uranius is a mystery.
This thesis is concerned with illuminating that obscurity and, to that
purpose, the principal aim is to establish the time at which the *Arabica*
was written, as well as to determine its exact nature and to speculate
on the identity of Uranius.

These questions have not escaped the attention of others, but, for a number of reasons, the conclusions reached have proved disappointing. This has occurred mainly from a failure to exploit sufficiently, in one case, or, for the rest, even to consider all the evidence which the fragments themselves have to offer on the question of the date. Scholars who attempt to use the fragments dealing with South Arabia are particularly guilty of ignoring the rest of the *Arabica*. Other reasons for the untenable nature of the conclusions arrived at in most of the previous discussions of Uranius appear in Chapter II.

In an effort to avoid this error Chapter III contains a text, a translation, and as full a commentary as possible on each fragment. The most that can be expected from this approach is a *terminus post*. Chapter IV contains a discussion of this and the *terminus ante*. The minimum *terminus post*, suggested by Stemplinger, but doubted or ignored by most since then, arises from Fragment 11 and sets this terminus between A.D. 292 and 304. Fragment 29, however, gives grounds practically beyond dispute for moving the terminus up to A.D. 337. This fragment, as it appears in the *Ethnica*, contains the name Constantine, but the *Suda*, s.v. Nicephorium, which patently derives from that entry in the *Ethnica*, preserves Constantia, not Constantina. Despite confusion in accounts of the naming of this city (which is not, this fragment apparently to the contrary, Nicephorium: this crux, it is shown, is for all practical purposes irrelevant to this aspect of the date of the *Arabica*), it does seem that Constantia is the correct form and that the city was renamed by Constantius II when Augustus. Hence, the *terminus post* of A.D. 337 for Uranius.

A *terminus ante* can be reached from a different approach. This entails a consideration of the sources and methods of Stephanus of Byzantium, the main source for the fragments of the *Arabica*. In the case of Uranius it is possible to demonstrate that Stephanus took several, if not all, references to the *Arabica* not from the complete text, but from secondary sources, such as lexica (of rare words, cf. e.g. Fragment 4) or grammars. If this is so, then Uranius must have written the *Arabica* early enough in time for parts of it to become disseminated among the secondary sources by the sixth century, the time of Stephanus. This may be so, but there is no way of determining the exact extent of time before Stephanus. The fragments themselves showed that Uranius cannot have lived earlier than the fourth century, so that the matter comes down to a choice between this century and the next one. The parallels that exist for this situation number only a few, e.g. the scholia in Aelius Aristides, but they do show that the case for

the fourth century would be stronger than the fifth. If this is so, then the date for Uranius can be narrowed down to the second third of the fourth century.

Enough remains of the *Arabica* to see that Book 1 gave a brief, overall geographical account of "Arabia," the lands occupied by Arabs; Books 2–4 described Transjordan, South Arabia, and the Negev areas respectively; and Book 5 contained a history of the Arabs. The *Arabica* was a geographic and historical account of people of Arab stock wherever they dwelt in the Near East. This is contained in Chapter V, which also discusses the possibility of Uranius' writing in Ionic Greek — which might suggest a Herodotean comparison — the sources Uranius may have used, and the bias of the *Arabica*.

The final chapter looks at Uranius himself. The name alone would suffice as an indication of the late empire if no other means existed for assigning Uranius to a certain time. With one dubious exception, every person called Uranius lived in the third century or later of the Christian era. Uranius could be an indication of Christianity (a number of bishops bore the name), or it could be a Greek reflection of an indigenous, Syro-Arab name. In view of the subject and possible bias of the *Arabica*, perhaps the latter is the case with the Uranius in question.

About thirty Uranii are known. The author of the *Arabica* need not figure in the list, but if he does, then the most cogent claim for identification would go to Uranius, the friend of Libanius. Time and setting, both geographic and intellectual, suit the choice, and yet insufficient is known about either Uranius to allow the identification to be pressed.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1973

JAMES ERIC GUTTMAN ZETZEL — *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*

Increasing accuracy in the fields of palaeography and codicology, together with renewed skepticism and curiosity about the transmission of ancient literature, has recently led to far greater understanding of the processes of copying and correction of ancient books in the Middle Ages. One major problem, however, is unsolved: what were the equivalent methods and processes in antiquity that produced the extant mediaeval manuscripts; in other words, how accurate can we expect the surviving texts of ancient literature to be? Moreover, while papyri provide some control over this important question for Greek texts, the number of fragments of classical Latin literature written before A.D. 400

is so small as to be negligible. The purpose of this dissertation is to determine the nature of Latin textual criticism in antiquity and its effect on the subsequent manuscript tradition.

An introductory chapter deals with problems of scope, method, and definition. It was decided to omit, in general, Christian texts, to deal with sources up to and including Priscian, and to consider as textual criticism only actual variations in the letters of the text, omitting such important but extraneous matters as scene division, punctuation, and the like. As far as method is concerned, it is suggested that evidence about so-called "ancient editions" derived from divergences in mediaeval manuscripts is not useful, since this prejudices the central question of whether or not ancient critics actually did anything comparable to a modern edition. The most important evidence is that of variant readings and conjectures reported by the scholia and other ancient grammatical sources.

Chapters II and IV survey the evidence for textual criticism at Rome from the second century B.C. to the third A.D., and describe three distinct stages in the development of textual criticism. The critics of the earliest period, from Crates to Varro, seem to have emulated the earlier stages of Alexandrian scholarship, and devoted themselves largely to the collection and authentication of texts, and to the elucidation of obscure words. Even though the texts that they used or produced had a major influence on the formation of the textual tradition of, for example, Plautus, there is no evidence at all to show that the critics themselves had more than minimal interest in such problems. They appear to have paid little or no attention to variant texts presupposed by contradictory glosses, such as occasionally appear in Varro or Festus. None of these scholars, in fact, was conscious of the concept of a correct text, none devoted any particular effort to improving the text before him. The first major alteration in the aims of textual criticism came with the introduction of modern literature into the school curriculum, allegedly by Caecilius Epirota in the late first century B.C. The consequent elimination of any serious textual or exegetical problems led to the misapplication of Alexandrian techniques, especially by such famous scholars as Hyginus and Probus. It is shown in Chapter III that the critics of this period criticized and emended Virgil as if he were, like Homer, an archaic author or *antiquus*; this is seen to have had disastrous effects, some of which still influence modern editions. The great change of literary taste in the second century A.D., finally, is shown to have produced a true Alexandrian age of Roman textual criticism, when renewed study of archaic texts,

and consequent uncertainty about early language and usage, led to the increased study of manuscripts and textual problems in general.

Chapters V to IX deal with the age of the scholia, the period from which our evidence is most abundant. Scholia on eight authors are examined, of which by far the most important is Servius. By examining and comparing the comments of Servius and DS on textual matters, is as shown that Servius did not "edit" Virgil; there are very few citations from manuscripts that he had seen, and few notes on the text are even his own observations. A number of passages are adduced in which Servius rejected the reading that he gave in his own lemma. Servius' judgement on various types of textual problem is also discussed. He is at his best on territory familiar to the late antique *grammaticus*: on orthography, metrical problems, simple grammatical questions, and problems of plain sense or historical fact his opinion is often valuable. In dealing with anything more complicated, however, Servius tended to apply simplistic rules too rigidly, and to be led badly astray. None of the other ancient scholia are as interested in textual questions as is Servius (who does record some 300 variant readings), and most seem to record only a few variants of collation, introduced by *legitur*, without making any overt choice. Only at the end of the ancient grammatical tradition do any scholars show any more originality: Priscian, enlightened by his Greek learning, and Cassiodorus, educated by Jerome's techniques of translating the Bible, both show considerably more sophistication in textual problems.

The final three chapters and conclusion deal with the influence of critics on manuscripts. In Chapter X a provisional text of the subscriptions in the manuscripts of the Latin classics is given, adding five texts not given by Jahn. From these, particularly from the palimpsest of Fronto with the autograph subscription of Caecilius, a definition of the practical meaning of *emendatio* is attempted. Caecilius, it is shown, used both his own ingenuity and another manuscript in "emending" Fronto; his own improvements are generally trivial, but include the addition of marginal comments and epitomes susceptible of being taken into the text by a later copyist. Even major errors, however, are rarely corrected by the aid of the other copy: the correct text is merely noted in the margin as a variant. It is shown that Caecilius, and others like him, "emended" their own copies by putting into the text or margins whatever was useful to them, not the equivalent of a modern critical apparatus. In Chapter XI it is suggested that similar haphazard methods characterized book distribution in the ancient world, and that private copies, corrected to individual — and presumably varying —

tastes, were the basis of the transmission of all but the most common school books. In Chapter XII two texts are adduced as examples of the different types of interpolation to be found in ancient textual transmissions. Plautus, circulating in a very limited circle, suffered throughout from wholesale interpolation and from the insertion of doublets. It is suggested that the Palatine text, which preserves most of these doublets, is probably closer to Varro's text than is the Ambrosian palimpsest, that Varro's text might best be reconstructed by adding A and P together, and that further reconstruction may be impossible. Virgil, on the other hand, has been exposed to no such gross tampering, but variant readings of critics have percolated from commentary to margin to text, well before the extant manuscripts; in its own way, the text of Virgil has suffered as much from interpolation as the text of Plautus. In conclusion it is suggested that, in order to estimate the accuracy of our manuscripts, it is necessary to know the circumstances in which they were read and copied, and to discover the influences on the actual books from which our manuscripts descend. While this is not possible in many cases, greater understanding of the background of our manuscripts is certainly attainable.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1973